

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DENTON: A bill (H. R. 13065) granting an increase of pension to Catharine Conn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JAMES: A bill (H. R. 13066) granting a pension to George W. Taylor; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. OSBORNE: A bill (H. R. 13067) granting a pension to Ida Helene Davis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13068) granting a pension to Louisiana Thompson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13069) granting a pension to Alice H. Von Pinnon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13070) granting an increase of pension to Jacob B. Mundorff; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SNYDER: A bill (H. R. 13071) granting a pension to Melissa Roche; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

Mr. MAGEE laid on the Clerk's desk a petition of La Fayette Grange, No. 1330, of New York, protesting against the postal zone rate system, which was referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *October 14, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we thank Thee for Thy gracious favor, for the blessings conferred upon us as a Nation, for the indication that Thou art leading us forward to the accomplishment of a worthy end, in the fulfillment of Thy designs for us as a people. We thank Thee for Thy guiding victory. We pray that Thou wilt complete the work. Lead on the lovers of liberty and those who stand for the rights of humanity toward the completion of their glorious task. Make us fit for the battle. Make us fit for the victory. May we be willing instruments in the hands of God whether upon battle field or at peace table to accomplish Thy righteous will. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last was read and approved.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on October 5, 1918, approved and signed the following acts:

S. 4194. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors;

S. 4543. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors; and

S. 4722. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.

PEACE PROPOSALS OF CENTRAL POWERS.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, the newspapers of yesterday morning printed what purported to be the reply of the German Government to certain interrogatories propounded to it by the President of the United States. What I am about to say, consuming a very few minutes of the time of the Senate, is based upon the assumption that that report is approximately correct.

Mr. President, speaking for myself, I am against a negotiated peace now as I have been from the moment the United States entered the war. I think I know the temper of the people of the State I have the honor in part to represent sufficiently well to say they share this objection. For four years Germany has run amuck among nations, during which she has wrought the greatest havoc the world has ever witnessed. In that time she has desolated Belgium, devastated France, strangled Serbia, wrecked Poland, and made a shambles of Russia. She has violated the most sacred rights of the United States by destroying women and children on the high seas and finally forced us to take up arms in the defense of the most sacred of human rights. In all that this Government has since done in prosecution of the war the President has had the support of both the great political parties and of the whole people to a degree never before accorded a President either in peace or in war. For four years Germany drenched a continent in blood without conscience or

compassion. It has been her policy to leave behind her nothing but wreck, ruin, devastation, and woe. She has spared neither the property, the persons, nor the souls of men and women who stood in her path, and wherever the German heel has trod the ruin has been made complete. As yet no blade of grass on German sod has felt the pressure of a hostile foot. Not a field or vineyard of the Fatherland has been disturbed. Every German city is intact, every German home in order.

At this stage they see the turning of the tide, and in order to save themselves whole they say to the President, "Let us cease fighting where we are and from this time forth carry on the war by correspondence." They seek to be permitted to do peacefully what the armies are already compelling them to do at the end of the four most terrible years of all recorded history at much greater speed than they would employ if left to move without being hindered. Northeastern France is ablaze and the whole of Belgium a smoldering waste at this very moment. Fifty thousand American boys have died or suffered wounds in driving the despoilers back beyond the Rhine. I do not believe that the people of this country or our allies will be even momentarily content to barter with the Hun. Nothing short of absolute, complete, and unconditional surrender, carrying with it full reparation for the damage wrought, will be accepted or tolerated, and it is my belief that anything that has even the appearance of willingness to accept anything less will be taken as a failure to carry out the purposes for which we entered this war and will be resented with a unanimity and an emphasis that will permit of no misunderstanding. I think I have not misjudged or misrepresented the attitude of mind of the American people in making this statement.

Mr. President, the United States did not enter this war from any selfish motive. We desired no colonies, sought no commercial advantages, but took up arms in the direct interest of human rights and with no other purpose than that these might be forever guaranteed. But, Mr. President, in the 18 months during which we have been cobelligerents we have made sacrifices that can not be computed. The lives that have been lost can not be restored or compensated for. We have neither hope nor desire to regain the fabulous sums of money we have spent and may yet spend before the end is reached. But, sir, while all this is true, I do not believe that the American people will wittingly or complacently submit to seeing themselves placed at a permanent and irremediable commercial disadvantage through the medium of the terms of peace, whenever or wherever they may be submitted. I therefore think the time not wholly inopportune to invite the attention of the Senate and the public to one of the 14 terms laid down by the President on the 8th of January last and since repeated in some form on various occasions. I refer to the third article, which reads as follows:

The removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers, and the establishment of a neutrality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

Mr. President, as I read it, if this article means anything it means the announcement on the part of the President of a purpose to write free trade into the peace treaty. It is, of course, possible that I may misconstrue the President's meaning, but I find myself unable to place any other construction on it. Nor have I been able to find one among the many with whom I have talked concerning it who takes any other view of its import. If this be indeed the purpose, and it is carried into effect, it would, in my belief, entail more serious financial consequences to us than those inflicted by the war itself. From these we shall in time recover but from the consequences of that kind of a compact we never should or could recover. I am aware that eminent Senators on the opposite side of the Chamber will disagree with this opinion; but, Mr. President, I believe it is sustained by the judgment and experience alike of a great majority of the people. Treaties with us are not mere scraps of paper. One participated in by as many nations as must be party to this one can not be lightly abrogated if its effects prove unwholesome. A mere popular election will not suffice. Once entered upon it would bind us hand and foot, almost, if not quite, beyond hope of relief. Therefore I repeat that I do not believe the American people will view the possibility of it with approval or complacency. It is not my purpose to discuss the matter at length on this occasion, but particularly in the light of recent and prospective events I do believe it time to direct attention to it that it may have the serious consideration which I fear has not been accorded it up to this moment. It is well that we should ourselves understand fully just what the nature of this proposition is.

CALLING OF THE ROLL.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hale	Myers	Sutherland
Bankhead	Harding	Nelson	Thomas
Benet	Hitchcock	New	Townsend
Brandegee	Jones, N. Mex.	Nugent	Trammell
Chamberlain	Jones, Wash.	Overman	Underwood
Culberson	Kendrick	Pbelan	Vardaman
Cummins	Kirby	Pittman	Wadsworth
Curtis	Knox	Poindexter	Walsh
Dillingham	La Follette	Pomerene	Warren
Drew	Lenroot	Reed	Watson
Fernald	Lodge	Sheppard	Wildley
Fletcher	McCumber	Shields	Williams.
Gerry	McKellar	Smith, Ariz.	
Gore	McNary	Smith, Ga.	
Guion	Martin, Va.	Smoot	

Mr. CURTIS. I desire to announce the absence of the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. FRANCE] on account of illness.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I wish to announce that my colleague [Mr. GORF] is absent, owing to illness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Fifty-seven Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

PEACE PROPOSALS OF CENTRAL POWERS.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to offer the following resolution. I ask that it be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 314) as follows:

Whereas all treaties are made by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; and

Whereas the German Government has indicated to the President its desire for peace in accordance with his views as outlined on and since the 8th day of January, last; and

Whereas any negotiation or formula for the establishment of peace between the United States and Germany must receive the constitutional sanction of the Senate, thus making its views on the subject of great present importance: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate of the United States, That the program for a lasting and permanent peace among the nations, as declared by the President of the United States on the 8th day of January and thereafter, and those announced by the spokesmen for our several allies, including the recognition of Polish and Slav peoples as communities entitled to their independence and to self-government, collectively represent the attitude of the entente allies regarding terms of peace with Germany.

That the President's outline of a basis for peace, made with full knowledge of, and wholly consistent with, allied demands for reparation, restitution, and guaranties, does not supersede those demands, but supplements them.

Acceptance of all these conditions and requirements must, therefore, be embraced in any offer of peace proceeding from the German or Austro-Hungarian Government.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I shall not at this time interrupt the ordinary procedure of the Senate. After the morning hour is over, if I can get the floor, I shall address myself to the subject of the resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Meanwhile the resolution will lie on the table.

MANUFACTURE OF PRISON-MADE GOODS.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting an additional report from the consul at Dakar, Senegal, relative to the extent to which prisoners, paupers, or detained persons are utilized in the production or manufacture of the commerce of the various countries, which was referred to the Committee on Printing.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills, and they were thereupon signed by the Vice President:

S. 933. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent for certain land to school district No. 9, of Sanders County, Mont.;

S. 2493. An act to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes," approved December 29, 1916;

S. 3225. An act to reserve as a part of the Oregon National Forest certain lands that were revested in the United States pursuant to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the Oregon & California Railroad Co. against the United States;

S. 3438. An act to prevent corrupt practices in the election of Senators, Representatives, or Delegates in Congress;

S. 4871. An act to authorize the Philadelphia, Harrisburg & Pittsburgh Railroad Co., its lessees, successors, and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Susquehanna River from the city of Harrisburg, Dauphin County, Pa., to the borough of Lemoyne, Cumberland County, Pa.;

H. R. 12402. An act to exclude and expel from the United States aliens who are members of the anarchistic and similar classes; and

H. R. 12982. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a large dry dock and appurtenant lands.

PEACE PROPOSALS OF CENTRAL POWERS.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I have here a communication, in the nature of a petition, from the Connecticut State Council of Defense, accompanied by a letter to me, which I should like to have the Secretary read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

"CONNECTICUT STATE COUNCIL OF DEFENSE,
"STATE CAPITOL,
"Hartford, Conn., October 9, 1918.

"HON. FRANK B. BRANDEGEE,

"United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

"MY DEAR SIR: Inclosed is a copy of resolutions which were unanimously adopted by the Connecticut State Council of Defense at its meeting on October 7, 1918. We know that you will agree heartily with us in the belief that it expresses the profound conviction of the citizens of this State that the present peace offensive of the central powers can not be regarded as bona fide, but that it represents an effort on the part of mid-Europe to escape the penalties of its moral and political criminality.

"Yours, very truly,

"CONNECTICUT STATE COUNCIL OF DEFENSE,
"R. M. BISSELL, Chairman.

"Sent to President Wilson and members of Cabinet."

"RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONNECTICUT COUNCIL OF DEFENSE,
OCTOBER 7, 1918.

"Resolved, That the Connecticut Council of Defense heartily rejoices in the unparalleled achievements of the allies. Bulgaria has unconditionally surrendered. Turkey is cut off from the Central Powers. The right wing of the Austrian Army is fleeing from Serbia. Its left wing is being steadily pressed out of Albania and Montenegro. The Italian drive is on the way. From the North Sea south all along the western front the allies are steadily driving Germany and her vassals out of Belgium and France. On September 9 in resolutions then passed by the council we said: 'We wait with confidence the day when American troops, under their own commanders, shall execute their orders and carry on a battle upon their own sector. They will emulate the valor and military skill of our allies, and we can not ask for more.'

"Three days later Gen. Pershing struck at the St. Mihiel salient and the American forces won in an incredibly short time one of the most brilliant victories of the war. The valor of our troops had been demonstrated at Seicheprey and in every conflict in which they have been engaged since.

"St. Mihiel told the world that the American general could conceive a plan of battle which is the admiration of military experts, prepare it to its last detail, and carry it out ahead of schedule time, successful at every point.

"All of this continued, triumphant progress is due in no small measure to the unity of command under that master of strategy and self-control, Marshal Foch.

"Germany is resisting desperately. As she is forced back she leaves behind her a waste of desolation and woe. No single thing that trained and ruthless cruelty could conceive of has been omitted. Her cruelty continues on land and sea. Every industry which could compete with Germany is destroyed. All that she can do to despoil Belgium and France that she continues to do.

"Germany is organizing her industry and her business so that after the war she may flood the markets of the world with her goods at a cheaper rate than any can sell for. Her industry and her business have largely been under government control. Her mercantile marine and her fleet are largely intact. Her present purpose is to secure an economic dominion upon which to build another world-dominion war. Neither the German Government nor the German people show the slightest appreciation of their crimes, nor the smallest desire to make reparation. They finally see that their doom is impending, and they ask directly or through their vassals that we enter upon negotiations for peace—for an honorable peace, as William proclaims, meaning a peace which will not strip the Fatherland of all the land it has seized, or the plunder its troops have taken, nor make her pay for the losses she has caused to the innocent wherever her troops have gone.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of the council there should be no peace considered until Germany and her vassals are thoroughly beaten and her far-reaching plan of world dominion de-

stroyed. We are opposed to any peace by negotiation, conciliation, or bargaining.

"Germany must be stripped of all the territory she has won, and her grip on territory, nations, and peoples adjoining her must be loosed. The safety of the world depends upon this.

"Justice demands from Germany and the German people and her vassals—and Connecticut insists upon that demand—that they make reparation for the damage and losses caused by them, and that they be compelled to give adequate assurances for the future and to practice lawful liberty to all. We are opposed to any peace treaty which does not substantially include these provisions.

"Resolved, That this council is opposed to every suggestion of an armistice while a soldier of Germany is without the bounds of Germany as they were at the outbreak of the war and while a single submarine is operating against the ships of the allies.

"Resolved, That the making of a peace treaty with Germany and her vassals at this time, unless preceded by an unconditional surrender, is against the interests of America and her allies and against an enduring and a just peace."

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I want to read two very brief telegrams, which I think are typical of the feeling in the State of Connecticut, as I think the resolutions of the Connecticut State Council of Defense, which the Secretary has just read, are typical of that feeling. The first telegram comes to me from the town of Washington, which was the home of my predecessor, the Hon. Orville H. Platt, and which reads as follows:

WASHINGTON, CONN., October 14, 1918.

HON. FRANK B. BRANDEGEE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Please convey to the President the following: The people of this community view with distrust any temporizing with Germany. We hope and believe that this Government will accept unconditional surrender as the first step of negotiations.

WASHINGTON WAR BUREAU,
S. F. SEELEY, Chairman.

The second telegram is from New Haven, and reads as follows:

NEW HAVEN, CONN., October 13, 1918.

HON. FRANK B. BRANDEGEE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Urge you insist Germans unconditionally surrender. No armistice; no compromise.

JAMES HILLHOUSE.

Mr. President, it is my firm conviction that any armistice at this time means the losing of this war. I can not picture to myself the German Army standing in battle array, facing the armies of the allies, while a joint commission, part of which consists of Germans, in whom the President has repeatedly stated that nobody can place any confidence and whose agreements are not worth the paper on which they are written, while such a commission negotiates.

If the allies stop fighting, Mr. President, and the war is transferred from the battle field to the council chamber, the allies will never resume fighting. The imperial German Army, even if it retires behind the Rhine, if peace should then be established, and Germany surrenders all the territory which she has invaded, the imperial German Army, then standing in Germany, would face upon her east a prostrate Russia, out of which a great imperial Germany could be built. Bulgaria, as soon as the army of the allies had withdrawn and disbanded, would again fall like a ripe plum into the lap of Germany. Every hero who has died and every man who has impoverished himself in attempting to help his country raise the money for this war would have made his sacrifice in vain. It would be a tragedy such as the world has never looked upon, that on the threshold of victory we had dashed the cup of victory from our own lips and had been seduced by a nation whom we have all been saying for the last three months it was useless to have any bargain or contract with.

Mr. President, there are three articles—one in the Washington Sunday Star of Sunday, October 13, by Frank H. Simonds, the military expert, who writes for the New York Tribune and other newspapers about the war; another by the military critic of the New York Times in the Times of the same date; and a third from the Outlook of October 9, entitled "With whom and for what are we at war?"—which I should like to have incorporated in my remarks in the RECORD, as they show the situation both from a military point of view and from a political point of view. If I may have that permission, I will content myself with simply reading the last paragraph of the article in the New York Times. It is as follows:

Either we shall stop fighting and make a patched-up peace or the war will continue for two more years, if not longer. It may, therefore, be said as the logical conclusion that if we grant an armistice before we are ready to make peace a military decision will have been averted and we shall have lost the war.

That, in my opinion, is the logic of the situation, and I will state that my position is and has been and ever shall be in favor of conducting this war as we instructed the President to do when Congress declared war, to a successful conclusion as a war, and pledged all the resources and every dollar and every man in this great Republic to that end.

I am in favor of conducting the war to a defeat of Germany in the field, and I am satisfied in my inmost soul that that is the only thing which will bring the change—the necessary change—in the German soul, and which will put Germany, the mad dog of the nations, where she belongs—behind the bars, manacled and fettered—and will, in truth, make the world safe for democracy or for any other kind of government that each nation chooses to establish for itself.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, permission is granted to the Senator from Connecticut to have printed in the RECORD the matter referred to by him.

There being no objection, the articles referred to were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Star, Oct. 13, 1918.]

CAMPAIGN OF 1919 NECESSARY TO WIN WAR, MR. SIMONDS SAYS—NO MILITARY DECISION THIS YEAR LIKELY, AND UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER OF GERMANY BEFORE ARMY IS BEATEN HARDLY TO BE EXPECTED—GERMAN PEOPLE MAY PREFER TO PROLONG WAR IN THE HOPE OF BENEFITING BY NEGOTIATED PEACE.

[By Frank H. Simonds. Copyright, 1918, New York Tribune, Inc.]

"For three months, ever since Foch launched Mangin in the decisive counter thrust south of Soissons, our armies, the armies of all the nations fighting Germany, have been marching from victory to victory. Since Napoleon was defeated at Leipsic, a century ago, there has been no such amazing transformation in military history as we have seen in something less than a hundred days.

"As a consequence of military events and the resulting peace offensives, both Austrian and German, there has developed everywhere, but particularly in this country, where there has been no such series of disappointments as have tempered European optimism in the past four years, a quickly mounting conviction that the war is rapidly coming to an end and that the present will prove the last campaign.

"On the face of the military situation as it now exists this belief seems to me unwarranted, and I purpose in this article to lay stress upon the military reasons why it seems inevitable, on the basis of things as they now appear, that there will be one more campaign, and a campaign likely to make a supreme demand alike upon the human, the material, and the moral resources of the nations at war.

CHANCES 50 TO 1 AGAINST DECISION.

"It is well to recognize at the outset that there exists a remote but still patent chance that the German armies may in the two or three weeks left for active campaigning be decisively defeated, meet a colossal Waterloo or Sedan. Marshal Foch is unquestionably striving for a decisive victory, a win-the-war success, exactly like that sought by Ludendorff in the opening months of the campaign. Under the terrific pressure which is being exerted German military strength may collapse at any moment, but I do not believe there is one chance in fifty of such a collapse, given the practical certainty that within three weeks the weather conditions will place a final veto on further general offensive movements. If we had two months, or three, then the chances would be even, but we have, perhaps, no more than a fortnight.

"In the same fashion political developments between November and March may make further fighting unnecessary. Germany may surrender; she may offer the same proposals which have been accepted from Bulgaria, and she may be forced to offer such terms because of internal conditions, concerning which we are at best only imperfectly informed. Again, it seems to me that such a surrender is almost out of the reckoning, but not quite; and, of course, if Germany surrenders there will be no more fighting.

SURRENDER OF HUNS IS DEMANDED.

"But we have to face the situation which we have deliberately created. As a Nation we have said, and we have meant, that short of a German surrender we will not make peace with Germany. We have clearly demonstrated that we mean to continue the battle until the capacity of the German Army for resistance is exhausted, until the German people are compelled to recognize that the doctrine of force invoked by them at the outset is altogether false, that their army can not conquer the world, that it is not even strong enough to defend Germany herself against the collective strength of aroused civilization.

"This means, if it means anything, that short of the destruction of German military power by a victorious battle, or series of battles, peace can only be attained by the unconditional sur-

render of the German people to the will of the nations which are now at war with them, a complete resignation of all power to resist, an unqualified consent to accept, when their armies have been demobilized and their conquered Provinces evacuated, the decisions of their enemies in the matter of the payments for past crimes and the guaranties for the future safety of the world.

WHAT SURRENDER MEANS TO HUNS.

"In sum, Germany must resign not merely her grandiose dreams of Mitteleuropa, not merely her domination of Russia, still continuing, but she must resign in the world, for the present, that position which has been created by a long series of aggressive wars and has enabled her from the treaty of Frankfurt to that of Brest-Litovsk to dominate European counsels. She must see the economic edifice which she created in Europe and out of it, at the expense of her neighbors and by the use of threats and blackmail, propaganda and corruption, demolished. She must consent to return to many of the conditions existing before the Franco-Prussian War politically, and in a sense economically, and she must consent to have her future, during the period of the new settlement, determined by the nations whom she has attacked. This is what surrender means: It means that the German must submit his will to that of civilization and take his chance.

"Now, does the military situation warrant the expectation of such a surrender at the close of the present campaign? Let us analyze the facts. We have by our victories of July deprived the German of the initiative, not for the time being, but for the balance of the war. We have by our August offensive turned him out of the lines of 1916, on which he accepted battle. We are at the present moment sweeping him out of the Hindenburg line. It is already clear that he will end the campaign at the Meuse and the Belgian frontier, and he has in two months and a half lost more than a quarter of a million prisoners, nearly 4,000 guns, and war material without measure.

"On the basis of what has happened since July 18, on the west front, we are justified in demanding and expecting that Germany will consent to evacuate the rest of France and all of Belgium, abandon all claim for indemnity or for the return of any of her lost colonies. Meantime, in the east, the victory of the army of the Orient has eliminated Bulgaria and broken the German edifice of Mitteleuropa into fragments. Coincident with this disaster has been the defeat of the Turk in Palestine and the creation of a situation which must inexorably lead to the surrender of Turkey on Bulgarian terms and the final liquidation of the estates of Germany's eastern allies on the terms of Germany's allies.

"At no distant date all of Serbia will be free, all of Bulgaria will be in our hands, the Turk will have surrendered or be at our mercy; Mitteleuropa, which yesterday reached the Euphrates and the Jordan, will end at the Carpathians and the Danube. Germany has only her Russian conquests left, and upon these her hold is precarious, while she has now to guarantee her Austrian ally against Roumanian as well as allied attacks at the south. And unless she can do this she must expect to see Austria at no distant time make a separate peace or fall into anarchy and ruin.

1914 BASIS WILL NOT SUFFICE.

"At the present moment, then, Germany and her Austrian ally must and unquestionably will make peace, if they can, on the basis of 1914. But we are all of us in America and Europe agreed that the basis of 1914 must not be restored. We mean to erect a stronger Roumania, a greater Serbia, to bar forever Teutonic expansion toward the south; we have recognized the Czecho-Slovaks in Bohemia, we have given unmistakable pledges with respect to Poland, we have in a very large measure committed ourselves to a program which, in liberating the Slavs of Austria and the Poles of Russia, insures the dissolution of the Hapsburg empire and the erection of a Polish barrier to Teutonism in the east.

"In the present mood of the world it seems to me unmistakable that any list of peace conditions would include a Poland which reached the Baltic at Danzig and comprehended Posen as well as western Galicia. In the same fashion we have accepted the view that the Jugo-Slavs shall occupy all of the Adriatic littoral save for the portions which belong rightfully to Italy. We have determined that Alsace-Lorraine shall return to France and we have resolved that Germany shall pay dollar for dollar and brick for brick for the terrible devastations of her army in Belgium and in France.

"All of this means but one thing. It means that the Germany which emerges from this war will be weakened as no other nation at war will be weakened; it means that the Germans will have to lay aside all the dreams which they have cherished

for half a century—dreams of world power—and accept conditions growing out of their conduct of the war which will for a generation leave Germany crippled. I do not think there is a single one of the conditions which I have sketched above which is not consonant with the conscience and the sense of justice of civilization. I do not think any one of them is nonessential to the making of a safe peace and an honorable peace, a peace which shall guarantee the world against another tragedy. But granted all this, is the German military situation so bad that Germany will accept such terms?

GERMAN ARMY STILL STRONG.

"I do not believe this is the case. On the contrary, the German armies, despite great reverses, are still numerous, powerful, capable of sustained resistance. They have before them a whole winter for recuperation after a few weeks more of fighting, and they have behind them admirable lines of resistance still far outside of German territory. If we conceive that the Germans will halt at the line of Antwerp-Tournai-Mezieres-Metz at the end of the present campaign we may see them standing on the far shorter and stronger line of Antwerp, Brussels, Namur-Mezieres-Metz in the spring, or even at the line of the Meuse from Holland to the front north of Verdun, and behind this line is the line of the Ardennes. Last of all there is the line of the Rhine, strong, as we all know, and certain to be strengthened in the next months.

"Is it not conceivable that the German general staff will calculate that it can break the force of allied attack between the Scheldt and the German frontier by the end of one more campaign and that an exhausted world will at last consent to peace by negotiation, which will save for Germany not her conquests of 1914-1918 but her position of August, 1914, her position when she set forth on her great and tragic adventure? As it stands, peace on such terms as are conceivable means the surrender of all Germany's aspirations, ambitions, and not a few of her actual assets.

"The military situation of Germany is bad, but it is not yet sufficiently bad to lead German rulers and leaders to accept the only terms on which peace is to be had from the enemy. Napoleon refused better terms than William II can now obtain in the months between Leipzig and Fontainebleau; the result was ruin, but the alternative was the sacrifice of his dreams of European domination. For many months Napoleon believed that he could wear out his foes; that he could separate them by playing upon their mutual rivalries; he believed that France would rise against the invader in 1814 as it did in 1792. His calculations were wrong, but the German general staff is not likely to see more accurately.

WHY HUNS WILL FIGHT ON.

"It seems to me that the decision of the world—of the allied world—with respect to Germany is so clear, so definite, and so fatal to German hopes, to German future, that those who rule Germany are bound to fight on, because between the terms which are now obtainable and those which would be obtainable after military defeat—complete defeat—there is no great margin of difference, and there is still, for them, the chance, remote, but real, that they may escape the decisive defeat, and endure until war weariness and domestic unrest in allied countries make peace by negotiation inevitable. And peace by negotiation means the salvage for Germany of much—of very much—from the wreck.

"As I see it, the situation is this: The German general staff expects to escape any decisive defeat this year and to stand with its main mass of armies still unbroken on some strong defensive system when bad weather closes the campaign of 1918. Despite its losses of men, material, and territory, it will then claim that it has defeated the allied effort to win a decision and that it has demonstrated that no decision is possible and that the war must go on indefinitely at a terrible cost unless it is ended by negotiation. Then will begin a period of reorganization by the German armies for the next campaign and the fortification of new lines on the basis of the lessons of the present campaign.

PEACE OFFENSIVE THIS WINTER.

"Meantime Berlin and Vienna will launch a tremendous peace offensive designed to separate the rulers of the various countries—that is, the leaders from their people. They will make every conceivable verbal concession, put aside all claims for profit themselves, and argue that only the imperialistic ambitions of their foes prevent the making of peace. Such an offensive will certainly have a great effect in Germany; we shall have to be on our guard to prevent its making progress in our own country.

"We may assume that the peace offensive will fail; we may assume that the allied nations will stand firm and insist upon

a complete surrender as the only condition of peace. Then, when spring comes, Germany will have made her plan for another campaign; she will retire to her selected positions, leaving devastated districts behind her, and strive to break our first offensive blows as she broke those of Nivelle and Haig in 1917. All of her still considerable resources will go into this first effort, and the German leaders may calculate that they will prolong the fighting for another whole summer and see the campaign end with the Germans at last within their own boundaries, out of Alsace-Lorraine, and behind the Rhine. In such a situation Germany may hope and will hope that peace can be had without surrender, with her position with respect to Russia unshaken, and with the essential integrity of Austria assured. This would be a far better ending to the war than is now obtainable. And there is always the possibility, certain to be counted upon by Germany, that some allied nation would weary; that, for example, the new election in Britain might turn out a victory for pacifism.

CAMPAIGN OF 1919 LIKELY.

"Short of a military victory this year, wholly improbable, I believe that there will be a campaign of 1919, because the only conditions on which we are willing to make peace with Germany are conditions which the mass of the Germans will not accept until their capacity for military resistance has been exhausted, and that is far from the case at the present moment. Frederick the Great and Louis XIV successfully defied Europe, after terrible defeats and even invasions. Germany hopes now to make peace on the basis of things as they were in 1914, while keeping alive the possibility of profiting from the destruction of Russia. But this means nothing more nor less than that Germany will consent to abandon now what she feels that she can not accomplish in the present war, and that she will begin on the morrow of peace to prepare a new attack upon civilization, building on the same foundations on which she built in the years before the present struggle.

"There is no middle ground for compromise between the world and the German; not to break his military power or compel him to surrender is to consent to the continued existence of his military machine; is to leave open for the future all the old avenues of attack upon democracy. Victory is not and will not be geographical. Frederick the Great lost Berlin, but won his war and retained Silesia. Victory is not comparative; it is in the nature of things absolute. The destruction of German militarism is the destruction of the German Army, whether by defeat on the battle field or by even more ignominious surrender in advance of the final blow.

"Looked at calmly, our successes since July 18 are only a degree more impressive than those of Ludendorf before that date. We have not yet progressed as far north of the Hindenburg line as the German got south of it in the spring. He took 200,000 prisoners and 2,500 guns; we have taken 250,000 prisoners and 3,500 guns. He has Belgium behind him and the lines of the Meuse, Ardennes, and the Rhine. He arrived within 40 miles of Paris; we are not yet as near as that to Brussels. He has lost a campaign, but we have lost the campaigns of 1915, 1916, and 1917. Bulgaria has quit him, but Russia quit us. Turkey is falling, but Belgium, Serbia, and Roumania fell and still we endure.

MORAL FACTORS AT WORK.

"Now, the moral factor can not be estimated and can not be exaggerated in its importance. The German may be morally conquered, but there is yet no sign of it. He is fighting doggedly, determinedly, and his defense is not a shade weaker than our defense between March 21 and July 15. He is fighting, not with the idea of victory in his head, but with a growing consciousness of what absolute defeat means. He sees about him the ruins of Belgian and French cities and Provinces; he knows that the same ruin or the price of the ruin must be found in Germany. His courage may depart or a wild and agonized determination to avert impending national ruin may fire him to still more determined resistance.

"I find about me a growing conviction that the war is over and that we are seeing the last phase of the decisive battle—that 'peace by Christmas' is assured. It may be so; but it is at least as likely that we are seeing the end of one more campaign in which there has been no ultimate decision, no breaking of the armed resistance, and no taming of the will of the opponent. For myself, I expect to see a campaign of 1919; I believe the German will still be in arms and fighting desperately when next spring comes, and that it will take all of our best strength to break his military power next year in a full and terrible campaign.

NEGOTIATED PEACE DANGERS.

"Negotiated peace is and will remain possible, if we are willing to make it, at any moment now. Between the present hour

and the opening of the next campaign the German terms will grow more and more reasonable. The German maneuver to catch the weak, the blind, the weary of the enemy nations, to break the home front as it was broken in 1917, will be repeated. But the German is not likely to accept the only terms which he can obtain, because he is almost certain to conclude that he would do better to risk all the consequences of another campaign rather than accept terms which will not have become materially harsher if he fights and loses next summer, and may be greatly modified if he fights and postpones a military decision.

"This much, at least, is to be said and must be said: It would be the height of folly to make any calculation of any sort based upon the assumption that this year will see the end of the struggle. Two evils would instantly flow from such a calculation. Insensibly, but inevitably, war effort would slacken and equally inevitably disappointment would weaken our moral strength next year. By each of these weaknesses the enemy would profit; by both he might succeed in escaping from the defeat which must come if the war is to be ended properly.

"Reading history one may see that bad as is the German's present posture, nations have escaped from worse, as did Prussia in the Seven Years' War. That victory which, now assured, is only assured if we increase rather than lessen our effort and strengthen rather than weaken our determination. Two years ago we were just as sure of immediate victory as now and with almost as sound reason. Then the German peace offensive surprised and routed us. A new German peace offensive is in preparation, and there is the same peril.

"Constant victory, the interminable reports of the forecasts of captured Germans, the large scale map, the catalogue of captured positions, all these build up an optimism, natural, within limits useful, but dangerous when it gives rise to unbounded confidence in a speedy and complete collapse of the enemy. It took the Leipzig campaign of 1813, the Marne campaign of 1814, and the Waterloo campaign of 1815 to rid Europe of the Napoleonic peril and to destroy the Napoleonic legend. If we have won the Leipzig campaign this summer, we have done nothing more. We have not advanced a foot in Germany; we are still demanding that the German make peace on the basis of what we expect to do, not what we have done and not what he believes we can do. Our victory is still limited; our terms absolute.

"In sum, on the military side no allied success up to the present hour supplies any conclusive or impressive evidence that the German Army can be decisively beaten this year or that it will surrender rather than bear the cost in blood of another campaign. On the political side the peace conditions which we are agreed must be imposed upon Germany are such that the Germans may not improbably prefer to risk all the sacrifices and burdens of another year in the hope of escaping our present terms, satisfied that even if they lose that campaign they can hardly face much stiffer terms. On the moral side we know little, but two years ago, when we were counting upon a moral collapse of the German, our own morale broke down in Russia and Italy and was severely shaken in France and in Britain as a result of the German peace offensive.

BOTH SIDES FAIL TO UNDERSTAND.

"All through this war there has been nothing more striking than the utter failure of the people of the two contending groups to grasp in any degree the actual state of mind of the enemy. We have been wrong just as often as the German. We have again and again been convinced that German masses were eager for a surrender peace; we have been convinced that a starving Germany was on the point of throwing off its rulers and embracing democracy and peace, and at the critical moment we have found that we had calculated on our hopes rather than with regard to the facts.

To-day the German people may be willing to surrender, they may compel their generals and their statesmen to abandon the struggle and pay the price of surrender. They may, on the other hand, be in the mood of France after Sedan, when the people rose to the defense of the nation. Until the German Army is decisively beaten we shall not be assured of peace, and the German Army is much further from decisive defeat than was French military power after the opening disasters of 1870. We have never yet failed to blunder when we based our military and political calculations upon what we believed to be the German state of mind and the German situation materially, and all our past mistakes have led to disastrous disappointments.

NO COMPROMISE IS POSSIBLE.

"The issue between the German and ourselves is one that can not be settled by compromise. Either he or we must surrender, and for either surrender means the abandonment of national faith. Bernhardt said nearly a decade ago that the issue of the next war for Germany would be 'world power or downfall.' Time has not changed the issues, nor can the German now escape

downfall by any other means than arms. Therefore it seems wisest to believe that he will fight on until he can fight no more, conscious that his fate then will be but little worse than it would be should he surrender now.

"As I close this article, on Monday, October 7, the world is discussing the latest German peace offensive. But nothing which has yet been disclosed with respect to this offensive modifies the views expressed above and in earlier articles. Germany is seeking to acquire immunity for the past and preserve her army and the Prussian tradition for the future. She proposes not surrender, but compromise. She is willing to bargain, but the very proposal to bargain indicates that she does not believe that surrender is necessary.

"By the campaign of 1918 we have brought Germany to the point of resigning her plan to impose her terms of victorious peace upon a conquered world. I see nothing now to suggest that short of the campaign of 1919 we can bring the enemy to accept those terms which we all agree must be the foundation of the future, the basis of any just and enduring peace. We have driven the wild beast back into the jungle, but he will return if we do not pursue him into his own fastnesses."

[From the New York Times, Oct. 13, 1918.]

FOCH'S DILEMMA IN FRANCE ANALYZED BY MILITARY CRITIC—FOCH IS TRYING TO FORCE DISASTER FOR KAISER'S ARMIES, WHILE THEY TRY DESPERATELY TO EXTRICATE THEMSELVES WITHOUT LOSING HUGE ACCUMULATION OF SUPPLIES—GRAVE DANGER TO ALLIES' MILITARY TRIUMPH IF AN ARMISTICE SHOULD BE GRANTED.

[By the military expert of the New York Times. Copyright, 1918, by the New York Times Co.]

"The past week has crowded the press with reports of allied victories on a scale which the war has not seen before from the beginning. At almost every point from the North Sea to Verdun the German tide has been receding.

"In the north, where the pressure has not been constant, the retrograde movements have been conducted without direct pressure on the part of the allies. The movement has progressed quietly and the German troops have made good their escape as far as they have gone. In the south, however, they have been in serious difficulties. But, in calculating upon a German retreat, we must bear in mind the purpose of Foch's strategy.

"His object is not primarily to force a retreat. In fact, he does not want a retreat at all unless he can force it to take place along lines which he himself is dictating. His object is, first, to destroy the German reserves, to deplete the army so that, when he is ready to administer the final blow, the power of resistance will be reduced to a minimum. If, in the process, the German Army is forced to retreat, it will be forced to abandon the supplies which it has gathered together during four years of occupancy of France and Belgium, together with much of its artillery, and return to its new and, possibly, its final line, a much weakened and badly crippled army.

"The Germans, on the other hand, are determined not to retreat at all until they can do so under conditions favorable to themselves. To fall back now would be to invite serious difficulties which would embarrass them for the remaining days of the war. They are, therefore, playing a waiting game, trying to hold on until winter comes.

"This situation forces them to take desperate chances. Even though they may be driven into a military situation which is almost impossible, they are compelled to hold on and trust that they will be able to escape in time before the débâcle comes.

FIGHTING NEAR CAMBRAI.

"The principal actions of the week have occurred on the front between St. Quentin and Cambrai. There are several reasons why this section of the front is considered by the allied commander as the most vital in the west. The strength of the German position has rested primarily on the chain of bases which extend from Rheims to the North Sea, a chain admirably connected by railroads and having numerous secondary means of communication. The foundation of the chain in the north is Lille, while in the south it is Laon. The center of the chain was Cambrai.

"But Laon is more than the southern pillar of the north-and-south line. It is also the pivot of the line where it swings to the eastward and supports the eastern line in the Champagne. This chain might be broken in the north by an extension of the attacks at Lens and in Flanders, which would envelop Lille and squeeze the Germans out. But in this event the Cambrai positions would still remain intact and the line in the south could remain steadfast in spite of the successes in the north. Success south of Cambrai, however, would flank the latter city, force the Germans out of it, but would at the same time throw the allies well to the east of St. Quentin and force the Germans back to the Oise River. This would in turn half surround Laon, and if persisted in would drive the Germans from this

important angle, releasing the troops in the Champagne. This is the principal reason why the allied attacks have centered between Cambrai and Laon. This would seem to negative the idea that Foch is primarily concerned with the destruction of the army and not with forcing a strategic retreat.

"But there is no real inconsistency. If the chain of bases could be badly broken, not through the destruction of a single link but through the disruption of the entire system of transportation, the Germans might get out. They would, however, lose many thousands of men in the process, and, most important of all, they would have to abandon much of their stores and supplies, so that the retreat would, after all, tend strongly to the destruction of the army as a well-armed and thoroughly equipped fighting body.

FOCH'S STRATEGIC GAME.

"A few words will show how this general strategy has worked out. The early part of the week was devoted to minor operations on this front. There was some very hard fighting by the British, but nothing like a general engagement was attempted. Presumably these earlier operations of the British were for the purpose of getting necessary military information.

"Then came a terrific attack, participated in by British, French, and Americans. The Germans were struck on the entire front between Cambrai and St. Quentin. Their entire line gave way. Previous inroads into the German positions by the British had brought the British lines close to the end of the Hindenburg defensive zone. The last attack carried them clean through the defensive area and out into the open.

"This was more than the Germans had bargained for. It was no part of their game to meet a superior army in the open. And the allies are superior in all that goes to make up a military force. It was necessary to stage a retreat as quickly as possible. This was done, the allies using cavalry and small tanks on a large scale to follow closely. One line after the other was crossed, Le Cateau was taken, and the British pushed on and beyond the Selle River.

"In the south the Germans were also seriously affected. The French, operating on the right flank of the attacking force, swept east of St. Quentin and reached the line of the Oise practically all the way from La Fere to the great bend near Longchamps. This immediately drew the line in the north tightly about Laon, leaving the area of the city guarded only by the Oise River. The result in the north was to stretch the British line all along the southern bank of the Sensee Canal, the most eastern point of the line being 35 miles east of the most western part near Arras. In other words, the German line is outflanked by that distance.

"The conditions on the western front may most easily be grasped by considering it in two sections. One is a huge semicircle, roughly, the horns of which are at Solesmes on the Selle River in the south and at Nieuport in the north. The radius of this curve is about 35 miles and contains, at distances varying from 30 to 20 miles, the important bases of Lille and Douai.

"The northern part of the curved area is guarded by the Lys River. The allies hold the northern bank entirely and the Germans the southern bank. No attempt has been made to force a crossing, this part of the front having been relatively quiet since the Belgian attack of 10 days ago, which first completed the northern part of the circle.

"The southern half of the circle is formed by the line from a point east of Arras to Solesmes. This section is guarded by the Cojeul River and the Sensee Canal, the Germans holding the northern bank, the allies the southern. Here the British have made several attempts to force a crossing. On one occasion they really got across and took the town of Arleux, but a heavy counterattack drove them back across the canal. Thus the Germans would appear to have their flanks in the north carefully guarded.

"The southern semicircle, which is the second part of the line we need consider, begins at Longchamps, on the Oise, follows the river around as far as La Fere, and then, curving around to the east, follows the Ailette and later the Aisne.

"Here we have a condition similar in many respects to the northern curve. The northern flank of the Germans is guarded by the Oise River, which is a most effective barrier. It has not, so far as we know, been under attack, the French having just reached it as this is being written. The southern flank is guarded by the Ailette and then by the Aisne, the semicircle being complete at Berry-au-Bac. The Ailette front is just as securely guarded as is the Oise front in the north. The Ailette itself is not much of a barrier, but the steep hills which rise from the valley of the river make it an obstacle of great defensive value.

"The danger point is found near where the Ailette turns north. This is the only unguarded section of the entire German line.

If the French can push their lines but a little farther eastward and clear the line of the Aisne as far as Berry-au-Bac there is every likelihood of their being able to cut off Laon from the east by an advance northward from Berry-au-Bac.

"It is possible that the Germans may yet disappoint the allies and get away, but minus a large part of their military paraphernalia. Their method of retreat has always been the same; it consists in holding tightly on the flanks and gradually drawing away the center, the sides gradually yielding as the center pulls back. For this operation the Germans, as we have seen, are admirably located. They can not, of course, get away clean, but they can escape disaster unless Foch is able to crush in the sides of their defense before the center can get far enough eastward.

"There can be no doubt of a German retreat. It is inevitable. Germany may be able to delay it for a few days longer at great risk to herself, but it is certain to come.

"Distinctive features of the week's fighting are also seen in the operation of the French and American forces between the Meuse and Rheims. The Americans have completely cleaned out the Argonne in one of the most tenacious bits of fighting we have recently seen. It has been brilliant work, well carried out, and of great importance. It practically clears out of the way all obstacles of terrain between the Argonne and Sedan.

This operation has one great value—it prevents the Germans from occupying for any great length of time any line west of a line through Grand Pre and Mozieres. This has been one of the main objects of the American action and illustrates the farsightedness and calculating ability of the allied commander. Foreseeing that his blows farther west were going to force a German retreat, he planned the attack of the American forces to prevent that retreat from stopping too soon. Any position which the Germans might take west of the line mentioned would be in immediate danger of being taken in the rear by the allied advance between the Aisne and the Meuse.

EARLY PEACE PROBABLE.

"With the Germans giving ground on all sides it is thought in many quarters that the war is over, and that we shall have peace before the new year. That will depend on just what kind of a peace we mean.

"We can have peace tomorrow if we wish—a German peace, a peace made around the council table on a basis of compromise. But if we still hold that there can be no compromise between right and wrong, that you can not arbitrate murder and piracy and pilage—if, in short, we hold that the only peace we will accept will be a German surrender, there is no probability of peace this year, certainly not before summer of next year.

"What Germany will do, what she is doing, is to fall back to shorten her lines. She can take up a line back of the Meuse River over a hundred miles shorter than her present lines and thereby add from three-quarters of a million to a million men to her fighting strength. Her position will be admirably suited for defense and will involve a great deal of fighting before it can be taken.

"The end is in sight for the first time since the war began, but it is still some distance ahead. It is useless to deceive ourselves on facts which are so patent. We are merely yielding to our sentiment and not to our understanding.

"The crying need for the moment for Germany is time. Her armies are for the most part in an impossible military situation, the extrication from which can be accomplished only with difficulty. It can not be accomplished at all except with grievous loss unless Germany has time.

"She has accumulated in France and Belgium since 1914 mountains of supplies of all kinds. Shell has been sent to the front for offensive and defensive purposes in enormous quantities. These represent millions of dollars of expenditure. Her organization of depots, of repair and replacement facilities, of billets, has been without limit. For the four years of the war this feature has gone on concurrently with the military operations and on an ever-increasing scale.

"Now, as a result of the allies' incessant hammering, she finds herself confronted with retreat or disaster. For various reasons the retreat can not be a small affair, but must involve the entire front from Rheims to the sea. There is not sufficient transport in the world to remove Germany's accumulations from the danger zone in a short space of time. And the allies, realizing their advantage, are pressing the situation with all possible speed.

THE GERMAN SCHEME.

"Germany, seeing the processes of destruction at work, begs for time, her petition coming to us in the nature of a peace proposal. She wants an armistice. Without going further into the matter, it may be stated that two results will doubtless flow

from a cessation of fighting: The first is that, no matter what may happen, even should we discover at the last moment that the German proposal was but another hoax, another lie, another example of a plighted faith broken, once the fighting is stopped for any appreciable time the war will be over. It is hardly possible to conceive that, once arms are laid down, they can be taken up again. The heart of the soldier, his morale, will be gone. There will no longer be the spirit for fighting of which victorious armies are made.

"The second point is that if Germany is granted the time she wants and for which she will do anything, give anything, say anything, promise anything, she will utilize it in withdrawing her arms, her mountains of supplies, her artillery, her shell, and her men to a much shorter and much more powerful line, a line possibly behind the Meuse, through the French and Belgian Ardennes, before Metz, and down the Vosges Mountains, and there she will stay. She will have shortened the battle front over a hundred miles and will be able to hold it with a million less men. Everything that we have done since July 18 will thus be scrapped. Our losses will have been for nothing.

"Either we shall stop fighting and make a patched-up peace or the war will continue for two more years, if not longer. It may, therefore, be said, as a logical conclusion, that if we grant an armistice before we are ready to make peace, military decision will have been averted and we shall have lost the war."

[From the Outlook, Oct. 9, 1918.]

WITH WHOM AND FOR WHAT ARE WE AT WAR?

[By an expert in international law.]

"In discussing this war we often speak of it as a war between nations, and speak of the German Empire as if it were a nation subject to the rules and entitled to the benefit of international law; but the Kaiser and his associates in the Prussian military autocracy have put themselves outside the pale of international law. Long before the war began the Kaiser declared, 'Nothing must henceforth be settled in the world without the intervention of Germany and the German Empire.' By international law, however, 'nations are equal in respect to each other and entitled to claim equal consideration for their rights.'

"So far from being satisfied with the natural development of her manufactures, her agriculture, and her commerce, the German leaders maintained the right and the duty to make war for the acquisition of territory and the destruction of rivals. Bernhardi declared, 'France must be so completely crushed that she can never again cross our path.'

"In reference to the conduct of war they were even more audacious. Nietzsche describes the German warriors: 'These men are, in reference to what is outside their circle (where the foreign country begins), not much better than beasts of prey. * * * They feel that they can revert to the beast-of-prey conscience like jubilant monsters who, perhaps, go with bravado from the ghastly bout of murder, arson, rape, and torture.' This description has been realized during the present war.

"It is true that before the war the Imperial Governments went through the form of sending delegates to international conventions. The most notable of these was at The Hague, in 1907. In one of the conventions adopted at The Hague, and signed by the delegates of Germany and Austria, it was agreed: 'Arbitration is recognized by the contracting powers as the most effective and at the same time the most equitable means of settling disputes which diplomacy has failed to settle.' In order to facilitate immediate recourse to arbitration, an arbitral tribunal had been established.

"Another convention, signed by the same delegates, regulated the laws of land warfare. Among other things, it was agreed that prisoners of war should not be employed in works that had any connection with the war operations. 'All necessary measures should be taken to spare as far as possible buildings devoted to religious worships, arts, science, and charity, historical monuments, and places of assembly of sick and wounded.' 'The honor and the rights of family, the life of individuals, and private property should be respected.' 'Private property shall not be confiscated.' Contributions in money in occupied territory shall be levied 'only for the needs of the army or of the administration of said territory.' 'Looting is positively forbidden.' Hospital ships shall be respected. 'The bombardment of undefended cities or villages is forbidden.' 'It is forbidden to lay submarine mines off the coasts and ports of the enemy with the sole object of interrupting commercial navigation.'

"Long before these conventions were made it was a principle of international law that a merchant vessel should not be captured without giving to the passengers and noncombatants on board an opportunity to depart in safety.

"From the beginning of the war every one of these sacred rules has been persistently and brutally violated by the Germans and the Austrians. With the approval of Germany, at the outset Austria refused to arbitrate the matter in difference between herself and Serbia. They have thus placed themselves outside the pale of civilized communities and have become nothing more than organized bands of pirates, entitled to no more consideration than were the buccaneers. These also had a certain rude government. Their principles of action were similar to those of the Germans and Austrians in this war. They were finally suppressed.

"It is our business in this war to suppress the buccaneers of the twentieth century. We shall win the war. Overtures for peace will be made, as they have been made, the design of which has been and will be to enable these pirates to retain as much of their booty as possible. Such peace would simply give them an opportunity to repair their losses and renew their attacks upon peaceful nations. What, therefore, we ought to obtain may be summed up in one famous phrase: 'Indemnity for the past and security for the future.'

"To gain these results we ought to impose upon the conquered Imperial Governments of Germany and Austria terms which will execute themselves and will not be dependent on the good faith of those who have shown by their actions that they have no sense of honor, and love a lie more than the truth.

"Before considering the terms in detail, let us note the analogy between the situation of the allies in this war and that of the United States in 1865. Then, as now, we were fighting for fundamental principles. It was impossible for the United States to permit for a moment the dissolution of the Union or the continuance of a government founded on slavery. As Mr. Lincoln said in 1858—and the words are equally true to-day:

"The real issue in this country is the eternal struggle between those two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles which have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, 'You work, and toil, and earn bread, and I'll eat it.'

"To establish forever the principles of justice and freedom, which are the foundation of the American Constitution, we refused again and again to make any terms with the Confederate Government which involved its continuance or the continuance of slavery. We did not count the cost, either in life or in money, and we were deaf to every overture. We repeatedly offered protection to the rights of individuals in the South and compensation for emancipation. But on the two main points, the continuance of the Union and the abolition of slavery, we were inexorable. It is equally important now that we refuse any propositions for peace which will not include the destruction of the Prussian and Austrian autocracy and compensation, as far as possible, for the countless woes it has brought upon the world.

"The details are far more complicated than they were at the end of the Civil War, but the principles are the same. Let us consider these details.

"Indemnity for the past.

"This indemnity should be based on the fact that it is the Prussian military system that is responsible. Indemnity, therefore, should be taken, not in the form of a Government payment but by a seizure of the property of the guilty. Indemnity from the Government could be raised only by a loan. The taxes which would be levied to pay the interest on this loan would come in part, at least, out of the plain people. These have been deceived by a persistent system of falsehood, and thus have been like sheep led to the slaughter.

"It is claimed by some that the great commercial and manufacturing interests of Germany and Austria joined from the first with the military caste, and that the war was the development of their joint greed and ambition. Whether this be so or not, it is at least clear that the commercial and manufacturing interests of Germany and Austria could have prevented the war. Whether or not, therefore, they actually promoted it at the outset is unimportant. They are jointly responsible. Some of their property in the allied countries has already been seized. Whenever their property can be found in these countries, that should in like manner be seized. Their property in the central Empires should equally be appropriated at the end of the war. The vast fund which would thus be available should be applied to make good the actual losses which have been inflicted upon the people of Belgium, France, Italy, Serbia, and Roumania. The German Government is responsible for the Turkish atrocities committed against the Christians. For these also reparation should be made.

"When this is done, a suitable amount should be appropriated toward paying the expenses of the war which has been forced

upon the allies. There would be a remnant which should be applied to the relief of the suffering of the plain people of Germany. There will be at the end of the war innumerable widows, orphans, and wounded men in the central empires who can not justly be blamed for the crimes that have been committed. It is very important that some provision should be made for them, so that in the countries now under the sway of the two Kaisers there should be hereafter an opportunity for the plain people to develop a new and better national life. In this way it will appear to the people of these countries that our object is justice and not vengeance.

"A very important part of this system of compensation is the taking over of all the German and Austrian ships that have been seized during the war. This will constitute a partial and appropriate indemnity for the ships that have been piratically sunk.

"Another and very important part of indemnity for the past is the punishment of the great criminals. Here again we have an American precedent. There was a German named Wirz who held a commission under the Confederate Government and was put in charge of the prison at Andersonville. In violation of the laws of war he caused to be killed many of these prisoners. When the war was over he was arrested and tried before a competent court for murder. The specification was that he had put to death, in violation of the laws of war, certain men who were prisoners in his custody. He was found guilty, condemned to death, and executed. We thus established the principle that killing men, even during war and under cover of a commission, is murder, if in doing it the perpetrator willfully violates the laws of war.

"It should be our business, when the two Kaisers are subdued, to make inquiry for the men who are responsible for the shameful violations of the laws of war, far more cruel than Wirz committed, and bring them to trial before a court-martial. Let them have the benefit of counsel, as Wirz had, but let us equally apply to them the words of the prophet: 'He shall have judgment without mercy, that hath showed no mercy.'

"One of the most conspicuous of these men is the commander of the submarine who sank the *Lusitania*. In his case the crime is especially clear, for after he had disabled the ship by his first torpedo he fired another, the only object of which could have been to hasten her sinking and destroy the lives of those on board. This was as much murder as though he had taken a rifle, picked out one of the women on deck, aimed directly at her, and killed her. There are those above him who have approved his action and rewarded him for it. They can be ascertained, and no rank should save them from a like condemnation.

"It is only by such an exercise of justice that we can hope to prevent the commission of similar crimes in the future. We hope, indeed, to establish a commonwealth of nations which shall in the future make war impossible. Whether this will succeed or not, we can not tell. But if there ever should be another war the men who go into it should now be made distinctly to understand that they do so at their peril, and that the leaders who involve thousands and perhaps millions of innocent victims in bloody strife can not expect immunity when the strife is over.

"Besides the punishment thus to be inflicted on the persons of these murderers, there are robberies for which restitution must be enforced. Nothing in modern warfare compares with the pillage of these Huns. There must, after the war, be a search for all the stolen property, and, as far as possible, it should be returned to the rightful owners.

"Indemnity for the future.

"The first thing will be to draw the teeth of the monsters with whom we are fighting. All the munitions of war of every kind which then shall be in the possession of the two Kaisers and their Governments must be taken away. Their manufacturing of such munitions must be broken up. If there is any machinery in them which can be of use to the allies, it should be turned in as part of the indemnity. Everything else should be destroyed. If, for example, the Krupp factories at Essen can be used for peaceful purposes, care should be taken that they are put to this use only. Otherwise they should be razed to the ground. It is far better that Bertha Krupp should labor for an honest living and give up making guns to kill Christians gathered in church on Good Friday!

"Complaint would doubtless be made that this would leave the two allied Empires defenseless. In executing this decree they should, however, be permitted to provide for an adequate police force. In the league of nations which should be formed as part of the readjustment of the world that this war compels there will be provision for the protection of individual nations against wanton aggression.

"Another important element in this reconstruction is a declaration by the allied powers that the two Kaisers, having deliberately organized a military system for the subjugation of the world, and having persistently violated the laws of nations in carrying out their plans, have forfeited all right to sovereignty, and that their thrones have become vacant. This would be a similar principle to the action of the English Parliament which in 1689 declared that King James II had 'abdicated the Government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant.'

"It may be claimed that this action of the allies would be in violation of the right to self-government that America is maintaining, but it is so only in appearance. Every right is inseparably connected with a corresponding duty. The principle of the old maxim, 'Protection and allegiance are inseparable,' is of universal application. The moment the two Kaisers and their Governments joined with the Governments of other nations in international conventions they thereby declared themselves to be part of an international system. They admitted that each nation owed certain duties to the rest. For example, in one of the conventions adopted at The Hague in 1907 the Emperor of Germany and the Emperor of Austria, as well as the rulers of other powers, declared that they were—

"Animated by the sincere desire to work for the maintenance of general peace

"Resolved to promote by all the efforts in their power the settlement of international disputes.

"Recognizing the solidarity uniting the members of the society of civilized nations.

"In the face of this convention, how can the two Kaisers contend that they and their Governments have not become a part of an international society? If, then, they commit crimes against that society on the scale of this present war, they cease to be rulers recognizing obedience to the law of God and to international law, and become pirates. This is manifestly an abdication of the throne, and should be treated as such by all the nations.

"Taking this position does not give to the allied powers the right to impose new sovereigns upon Germany or upon the kingdoms composing the Empire of Austria-Hungary. It is for the people of these countries, in constituent assembly, to choose their new rulers; but for all international purposes the imperial houses of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg must cease to exist. They have too long tyrannized over their own people and destroyed the peace of the world.

"Under newly chosen rulers and forms of government based upon the fundamental principle of freedom, guarded by and subject to law, we may hope that these countries will become loyal and peaceful and prosperous members of the great family of nations. If they do, they will half a century hence look with as much satisfaction upon their emancipation as the South does upon the abolition of slavery and the restoration of the Union.

"There is one important element in this constructive program which remains to be mentioned. For that we have a precedent in the reconstruction of the American Union after the Civil War. It is provided by the fourth section of the fourteenth amendment that 'neither the United States nor any State shall pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.'

"In like manner, it should be provided at the end of the present war that no debt incurred either by the Empire of Germany or that of Austria-Hungary in aid of the present war shall be paid, but it shall be held illegal and void. The continuance of this debt would be an impossible burden for the people of these central empires if the indemnity before mentioned is provided. It is better to cancel it at once. It would be right to make some provision for small holders, who would be impoverished by the loss of all their savings. But the debt was contracted for purposes of aggression and crime and is therefore illegal and void.

"These propositions will seem radical. But the fundamental principle upon which they are based is the sole justification for the entrance of America into the war, namely, that the war is a war of aggression begun by the central empires as part of a plan to subjugate the world, and that in the course of the war they have committed every possible crime. When this is remembered, it will appear that these terms are just and that the enforcement of them is the only possible security against another war. In reality, they are far more merciful and less likely to promote continued rancor than would the boycott proposed by many.

"The author of this article was one of the first to urge upon the Government and people of the United States, immediately after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, that America should inter-

vene in defense of her own rights and the rights of all nations; that convoy should be provided for merchant shipping; and that the German ships and terminals which were within our jurisdiction should be seized. Our Government, with the unanimous approval of our people, has finally done all this. It has declared war in a righteous cause; our people are incurring countless sacrifices in the prosecution of that war, and we must never rest until the objects for which we began it are accomplished.

"These were summed up by the President in his reply to the communication of his Holiness Benedict XIV: 'Peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not the rights of governments—the rights of peoples, great or small, weak or powerful—their right to freedom and security and government.'

"One advantage of dealing with our treacherous foe in the manner proposed is this: Our victorious armies will ere long be in Germany. The indignation that has been roused in the soldier's breast by the crimes committed would naturally lead to retaliation. If the allies should announce their fixed purpose to punish the real criminals and spare the civilian population who have not shared in the crimes, the latter would be more mercifully treated.

"Another advantage would be this: The German leaders have stimulated the population at home to renewed sacrifice by assuring them that if the allies conquer and get a footing in Germany the people there would suffer as the French and Belgians have suffered. This appeal has been effective. If we make it known that the contrary will be the case and that our aim will not be the desolation of the country, but the punishment of the real criminals—in a word, 'retributive justice'—the German leaders will find their people indifferent or even opposed to the continuance of the war.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD, without reading, resolutions adopted by the war committee of the Union League Club of Chicago, Ill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The resolutions are as follows:

"THE AUSTRIAN PEACE TRAP.

"Resolutions adopted by the war committee of the Union League Club of Chicago at a meeting held the 16th of September, 1918.

"Whereas the war committee of the Union League Club of Chicago, assembled in special session this 16th day of September, 1918, sees the Austrian proposal to call an informal conference to discuss terms of peace as a diplomatic trick whereby the central powers hope to avert the consequences of certain military defeat; and

"Whereas it is the belief of this committee that the central powers, by putting out this peace feeler, hope and plan to create a division of sentiment among the peoples of the allied nations which will bring about a slackening of military preparations; and

"Whereas it is essential to the interests of permanent peace that the military aristocracy of Germany be rendered incapable of further successful aggression: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the war committee of the Union League Club of Chicago respectfully urges upon the President of the United States of America and the Members of the House of Representatives and Senate thereof that there be no peace negotiations, formal or informal, until these two results have been achieved:

"1. The territories of all the nations which have been overrun by Germany and her allies have been evacuated; and

"2. The armies of Germany and her allies have been dispersed or captured: And be it further

"Resolved, That the war committee of the Union League Club of Chicago, having in mind the principles enunciated by the President of the United States, further respectfully urges that when these objects have been attained and the time comes for the consideration of a permanent peace dictated by the victorious entente allied nations, the terms which must be forced upon the defeated central powers shall be such that, among other things—

"1. Belgium, Serbia, and the other invaded States shall be fully compensated for the material damage which has been done in those lands by the brutal invaders from the central powers.

"2. Alsace-Lorraine shall be restored to France and reparation shall be made to France for the damage done during the present war.

"3. Poland shall be recreated an independent State, free from domination of Prussia, Austria, or any other power, and compensated for injury during the present war.

"4. Bohemia and the neighboring provinces of Moravia and Slovakia in Austria-Hungary shall be erected into a Czecho-Slovak State absolutely independent of Teutonic or Magyar control.

"5. That effect be given to the declaration of Corfu, and that the millions of Slavs held in bondage by Austria-Hungary in the southern part of the dual monarchy shall be set free and allowed to join with their kinsmen in Serbia and Montenegro in a great Jugo-Slav nation.

"6. That certain portions of Austria-Hungary, populated mainly by people of Italian nationality and adjoining the Italian borders, shall be restored to Italy.

"7. That the treaty forced upon Roumania by the central powers be abrogated, and that Roumanians living in the Provinces of Transylvania and Bukowina shall be allowed to join with their kinsmen in the formation of a free and independent greater Roumania.

"8. That the Brest-Litovsk treaty be abrogated and that Finland, Ukraine, the Baltic Provinces, and other portions of Russia be freed absolutely from German domination."

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I have received a great mass of telegrams, with which I shall not undertake to fill the RECORD, but I have selected a few which I desire to read simply to illustrate the feeling as it comes to me from many quarters.

PITTSBURGH, PA., October 11, 1918.

Senator HENRY C. LODGE,
Washington, D. C.:

Unconditional surrender only. No temporizing with criminals.
GEO. O. CALDER.

CHICAGO, ILL., October 13, 1918.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The mere suggestion of an armistice is an insult to the brave armies of the United States and our allies. A brutal, cruel, and inhuman foe, totally devoid of truth and honor, is rapidly being defeated, and no foundation for a real peace is possible until after the complete defeat and unconditional surrender of the military forces. Humanity demands the rejection of the German note.

C. H. DANBY.

ORLEANS, MASS., October 13, 1918.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

As American citizens and constituents, we heartily approve your attitude and object to any parley with Germany. We demand unconditional surrender from that nation as a preliminary to a dictation of peace terms.

HOLLIS FRENCH,
FREDERICK S. CONVERSE,
DWIGHT BLANEY.

NEW YORK, October 14, 1918.

Hon. H. C. LODGE,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

No armistice; no negotiations; unconditional surrender.
J. W. MAYNARD.

NEW YORK, October 14, 1918.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Horse sense requires that burglars, thieves, and murderers must be disarmed before approaching the bar of justice. Public opinion demands unconditional surrender first and justice afterwards for the Germans.

JOSEPH E. DALTON.

BOSTON, MASS., October 14, 1918.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Why not require Germany bring out entire high-seas fleet and place it under guard of British Navy as guaranty of good faith.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

Those are mere samples, which I have read to go into the RECORD.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, I send to the desk a telegram which I have this day received from the Chamber of Commerce of Jackson, Mich., and I ask that it be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read the telegram, as follows:

JACKSON, MICH., October 13, 1918.

Hon. C. E. TOWNSEND,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At a special meeting of the Jackson Chamber of Commerce, Jackson, Mich., representing 70,000 people, held this Sunday afternoon, a resolution was unanimously adopted opposing a peace conference in advance of an unconditional surrender of Germany and her allies. We feel that this same sentiment prevails throughout the country, and assure the President and yourself that our undivided cooperation is behind him and you in his and your support of such a proposition.

JACKSON (MICH.) CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.
By C. F. HOLLAND, Secretary.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. TOWNSEND presented telegrams in the nature of petitions of George Seal, of Detroit; of the Federal Employees' Union of Soo; of Local Union No. 143, National Federal Postal Employees, of Kalamazoo; of Local Branch, Railway Mail Association, of Detroit; of the Michigan State Federation of Labor; of Local Branch, National Federation of Federal Employees, of Detroit; and of the Trades and Labor Council of Kalamazoo,

all in the State of Michigan, praying for the passage of the so-called McKellar retirement bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. NELSON presented the memorial of J. A. O. Preus, State auditor of Minnesota, transmitting a resolution adopted by the Minnesota State Board of Investment, relative to the proposed tax on State and municipal bonds in the pending revenue bill; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the memorial of Miss Hattie Woell, of Browerville, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed tax on proprietary medicines in the pending revenue bill; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a memorial of the Minnesota Western Oil Co., of Minneapolis, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed tax on oil in the pending revenue bill; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. WARREN. I present a telegram in the nature of a memorial, from the One Hundred Per Cent American Society, of Hanna, Wyo., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

There being no objection, the telegram was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Telegram.]

HANNA, WYO.

Senator FRANCIS E. WARREN,
Washington, D. C.:

The One Hundred Per Cent American Society, of Hanna, Wyo., representing 500 miners and 65 men in uniform, demand the unconditional surrender of the central powers and unlimited force to bring this about. Such a peace only will compensate our outraged ideals, more precious than the lives required to enforce it.

W. L. COWDREY, President.

Mr. ASHURST (for Mr. THOMPSON) presented a memorial of Pomona Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, of Montgomery County, Kans., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation granting pensions to civil-service employees of the Government, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also (for Mr. THOMPSON) presented a memorial of the Wyandotte County Democratic Club, of Kansas City, Kans., remonstrating against the unjust discriminations by the industries of the country against the blind in denying them employment, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also (for Mr. THOMPSON) presented a memorial of the Missionary Circle, mothers and sisters of the boys in khaki, Ada, Kans., remonstrating against the execution of the order prohibiting denominational camp pastors from Army camps, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also (for Mr. THOMPSON) presented a memorial of the Woman's Club, of Topeka, Kans., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to provide for the fourteenth and subsequent decennial censuses and also against creating political jobs during the present national crisis, which was referred to the Committee on the Census.

He also (for Mr. THOMPSON) presented telegrams in the nature of petitions from Federal Employees' Union No. 49, of Fort Leavenworth, Kans., and from the Federal Employees' Union, of Kansas City, Kans., and a petition from Local Branch, National Association of Letter Carriers, of Washington, D. C., praying for the passage of the so-called McKellar retirement bill, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CUMMINS. I present a telegram embodying a resolution adopted by the Farm Improvement Association and the farmers of Black Hawk County at Waterloo, Iowa, remonstrating against the further extension of the daylight-saving bill, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CEDAR FALLS, IOWA, October 12, 1918.

A. B. CUMMINS,
Washington, D. C.:

I am instructed to send you the following resolution adopted at a meeting of the Farm Improvement Association and the farmers of Black Hawk County at Waterloo, Iowa, October 12, 1918. The daylight-saving plan is operating to the detriment of rural institutions, and on account of the critical labor situation it is seriously interfering with our efforts in keeping up agricultural production, on account of the dews in the morning during the haying, harvesting, and thrashing season. It causes the loss of an hour of the best working time of each day. It enforces a further loss of time, feed, and profit through the improper and unnatural times for the care and feeding of all classes of live stock. It forces a serious hardship on country school children by compelling many during the cold winter months to leave their homes before daylight.

A. A. BURGER.

Mr. THOMAS. I present a telegram in the nature of a memorial from the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association of my State, protesting against the so-called campaign of certain

women of this city against the Members of this body, which I desire to have printed in the record.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

DENVER, COLO., October 9, 1918.

Hon. C. S. THOMAS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The Colorado Equal Suffrage Association deeply regrets that the United States Senate should be annoyed and insulted, as is being done by any body of women, even by an organization so diametrically opposed to all the principles of the National Equal Suffrage Association as is the Woman's Party, and we are deeply chagrined that a Colorado woman should be among the number guilty of such acts, while we are keenly disappointed at the failure to pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment we are not discouraged and feel confident of success at a later date in spite of the conduct of these women.

THE COLORADO EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. FLETCHER, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each with amendments:

A bill (S. 829) to authorize the employment of Federal prisoners on public roads within the States; and

A bill (S. 4931) to insure a supply of coal for munition works, and for other purposes.

Mr. BANKHEAD, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 12976) providing for the protection of the users of the telephone and telegraph service and the properties and funds belonging thereto during Government operation and control, reported it without amendment.

Mr. MCKELLAR, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 4990) to repeal a proviso of paragraph 3, section 1, of an act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917, and further amending said act, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 591) thereon.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Mr. FLETCHER introduced a bill (S. 4991) to establish load lines for vessels in foreign trade, which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

AMENDMENT OF CRIMINAL CODE.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 3470) to amend section 35 of the Criminal Code of the United States, which were, on page 1, line 6, after "Sec. 35," to insert:

Whoever shall make or cause to be made or present or cause to be presented for payment or approval to or by any person or officer in the civil, military, or naval service of the United States, or any department thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, any claim upon or against the Government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, knowing such claim to be false, fictitious, or fraudulent; or whoever, for the purpose of obtaining or aiding to obtain the payment or approval of such claim, or for the purpose and with the intent of cheating and swindling or defrauding the Government of the United States, or any department thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, shall knowingly and willfully falsify or conceal or cover up by any trick, scheme, or device a material fact, or make or cause to be made any false or fraudulent statements or representations, or make or use or cause to be made or used any false bill, receipt, voucher, roll, account, claim, certificate, affidavit, or deposition, knowing the same to contain any fraudulent or fictitious statement or entry; or whoever shall take and carry away, or take for his own use or for the use of another, with intent to steal or purloin, any personal property of the United States, or any branch or department thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder; or whoever shall enter into any agreement, combination, or conspiracy to defraud the Government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, by obtaining or aiding to obtain the payment or allowance of any false or fraudulent claim; and whoever, having charge, possession, custody, or control of any money or other public property used or to be used in the military or naval service, with intent to defraud the United States, or any department thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, or willfully to conceal such money or other property, shall deliver or cause to be delivered to any person having authority to receive the same any amount of such money or other property less than that for which he received a certificate or took a receipt; or whoever, being authorized to make or deliver any certificate, voucher, receipt, or other paper certifying the receipt of arms, ammunition, provisions, clothing, or other property so used or to be used, shall make or deliver the same to any other person without a full knowledge of the truth of the facts stated therein, and with intent to defraud the United States, or any department thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both.

On page 2, line 1, after "law," to insert "having knowledge or reason to believe that the property has been taken from the possession of the United States or furnished by the United States under such allowance."

On page 2, line 2, to strike out "and" and insert "or."

On page 2, line 2, after "years," to insert "or both."

Mr. OVERMAN, I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

PEACE TERMS.

Mr. LODGE. I desire to introduce a Senate resolution, to be printed and lie on the table.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I ask to have the resolution read, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 315), and it was ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that there should be no further communication with the German Government upon the subject of an armistice or conditions of peace, except a demand for unconditional surrender.

ADJOURNMENT TO THURSDAY.

Mr. SIMMONS. I move that when the Senate adjourns today it adjourn until 12 o'clock on Thursday next.

The motion was agreed to.

PEACE PROPOSALS OF CENTRAL POWERS.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I have received many communications upon the subject which is engrossing the American mind this morning, one of which I beg to read as follows:

CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA, October 13, 1918.

Hon. A. B. CUMMINS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At a public meeting held to-day the following resolutions were adopted:

First, That we stand back of the Government and President in demanding an unconditional surrender and nothing less;

Second, That we are opposed to any peace that is not wholly acceptable to our allies, who have borne the greater burdens of this war and who have suffered most and have most at stake;

Third, That we believe the treaty of peace should be written in Berlin by the allied nations, and that allied armies should occupy portions of Germany until the stipulated conditions have been complied with; and

Fourth, That there shall be no cessation of force to the utmost until Germany turns over to the allied nations both her army and her navy as parts of the unconditional surrender.

The telegram is signed by a committee of the citizens of that community.

If the Senate will indulge me a moment, I desire to make an observation with regard to the subject matter.

Mr. President, we are drifting into an exceedingly unfortunate and dangerous position with respect to peace terms with Germany. Consciously or unconsciously, we are permitting general homilies upon the reorganization and reformation of the world, and everybody in it, to obscure the one specific object we should hold constantly in view.

It is praiseworthy, whether in war or peace, to forward the cause of democracy and to stimulate as best we can the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; but if in lauding this fundamental doctrine we allow Germany to escape her well-merited punishment, we will have made little progress in universal regeneration.

Our immediate, imperative purpose should be to make the world, and especially the United States, safe against Germany. It is true that Austro-Hungary and Turkey must be dealt with as our enemies, but they are not formidable, and we have nothing to fear from them in the future. The Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs will see to it that Austro-Hungary is dismembered, and Turkey will be necessarily eliminated in the natural readjustment which must ensue. Germany is the chief and powerful criminal, and unless this war ends in the right way her crimes will be repeated and she will again plunge all mankind into the indescribable horrors of another world war.

Let us forget, for a time at least, all about dividing eastern Europe into a series of sovereignties which will owe their existence, not to self-determination but to military force. Let us forget, in this vital moment, the league of nations which is to rule the earth in accordance with the Sermon on the Mount and in which the United States is to become a mere municipality. Let us fasten our attention upon Germany and answer the one burning question, What shall the allies do with her? And above all let this answer be so concrete in its substance and so clear in its form that plain people everywhere can understand it.

The overwhelming majority of the people of this country are determined that the war shall go on with ever-increasing vigor until the armies and navies of the Imperial German Government have unconditionally surrendered; and until the allies are in full possession of that country with power to impose just such terms upon her future existence as may be thought necessary to repair the wrongs she has committed and to protect humanity against a recurrence of her criminal endeavor. To the great body of American citizens any cessation of the brave and brilliant efforts of our armies on the land and fleets on the sea is unthinkable. I intend to assume that nothing that has been

or can be said in any quarter will turn aside the allied nations from this unalterable purpose. My concern relates mainly to our attitude toward Germany after the victory has been won and after her surrender is complete, for it will be just as fatal to impose inadequate terms upon Germany as it would be to secure inadequate terms through negotiation. There seems to be great reluctance upon the part of the Executive who must, in the first instance, speak and act for us in this grave matter and also upon the part of those who have discussed the question in the Senate to approach the real problem and prescribe the only remedy. It is as easy as it is indefinite to declare that Germany must be so dealt with that there can be no repetition of the wrongs she has committed, but that declaration does not satisfy the common mind and heart, and least of all does it satisfy those who are bearing the burdens of this unparalleled struggle.

Aside from the suggestion that her path toward the East should be barred by the new powers that are to be established and the hope that a partial disarmament may be brought about among all nations, we are left to grope our way amidst the depressing uncertainties of the broadest generalities.

It is not strange that 14 articles, or even more, are required to cover the revision of the political map of Europe and to define the relation which all the nations of the earth should bear toward each other; but I venture the observation that a lesser number will be found sufficient to state what the allies should do with Germany. I take it for granted that when the allies gather around the council table to determine what shall be done with Germany certain things will already have been accomplished.

Belgium and Serbia will be free, without a hostile foot within their borders.

Alsace-Lorraine will be in possession of France, there to remain forever.

I dismiss for the present the infinitely difficult problems of Russia, of Poland, of Ukraine, of Austria, of Bulgaria, of Turkey, of Roumania, of Greece, and Italy. I disregard for this discussion the whole Czecho-Slovak and Jugo-Slav controversy. The Kaiser should have nothing to say about these readjustments. The question recurs with persistent force, What shall be done with Germany?

There is but one answer that will meet the demands of justice and satisfy the claims of an outraged world. There must be reparation for the past and security for the future.

First, Germany must pay, pay to the last farthing of her capacity to pay, pay until the generations yet to come will remember and curse the insane ambition which well-nigh destroyed civilization itself, and so she will repair in some small measure the destruction she has wrought.

Second, Germany is a menace to mankind because she has a cruel, wicked, malicious intent toward the remainder of the world, and because she has a powerful army and navy to execute her murderous designs. We can not change her intent, for it is the result of years and years of training and teaching in a false and selfish philosophy; but we can disarm her and leave her helpless and harmless.

It is to be hoped that armaments everywhere may be reduced, but Germany should have none. Her army must be disbanded, her navy must be distributed among the allies, her fortifications dismantled, and her munitions factories destroyed. Not only so, but there must be no resurrection of her military system until the allied nations are fully convinced that it is safe to free her from these restrictions. Until that time comes she must be a dependent nation, at liberty to engage in commerce but powerless to make war.

Viewed from the ordinary standpoint these terms are severe beyond precedent; but the situation itself has no parallel in history. I understand perfectly that these conditions mean the degradation, possibly the disintegration of a once mighty nation; but if we are to be safe, if the world is to be secure, they must be imposed.

We entered the war with our eyes open to the consequences which would follow as inexorably as the passage of time, for from the moment of our entrance into the struggle it was sure that either Germany or the United States must die as a first-class power. It must have been, must now be, obvious to every thoughtful man that if all other powers are not to remain an armed camp, nothing short of the absolute physical disability of this war-drunken people will protect us from her revenge and save the world for tranquility and peace.

It will be gratifying to see Germany supplant her existing government with a better and freer one, but that will not suffice, for republics are as strong in their purposes as autocracies. Oftentimes they are as ambitious as the most absolute of monarchies, and we are now witnessing the ease with which they mobilize and the success with which they fight.

My proposal is capital punishment for a nation, and I am keenly conscious that many innocent German people will suffer; but why shrink from the inevitable? Either they must suffer or the millions who have laid down their lives upon the battlefields of Belgium, France, Italy, and the Far East will have died for a mere truce with brutality. Either some innocent Germans must suffer in national pride, property, and progress or the hellish atrocities which have shocked and benumbed all Christian lands will be perpetrated again upon an offending world. Which alternative will you adopt?

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask to have read two telegrams, and, if the Senate will indulge me, I desire to make some observations with reference to them.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

KANSAS CITY, MO., October 12, 1918.

HON. JAMES A. REED,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

This city demands unconditional surrender of Huns. All resent thought of parley. We shall give back nothing; they give up every foot, including our Alsace-Lorraine, immediately. Anger felt at any other thought. Nobody thinks the Huns sincere.

BATELE McCARDLE.

TUCUMCARI, N. MEX., October 13, 1918.

HON. JAMES A. REED,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

See Kansas City Post editorial last Friday, October 11, entitled "So the people may know," which expresses practically unanimous sentiment of your constituents, regardless of political affiliations, that no terms except unconditional surrender must be given Germany, and we must not negotiate with a Government that has neither honor nor conscience. We beg of you do not allow the fruits of our great sacrifices to be lost by sentimental or misguided considerations. The savage Huns must be crushed.

D. J. HAFF.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, to my mind, the Senate is at this hour charged with a very grave responsibility. I have all along maintained, as Senators know, that the legislative branch of our Government has not lost its vitality, force, and importance. At a time like this, when we are dealing with foreign relations, the Senate has a peculiar duty thrust upon it.

An unfortunate impression is, I fear, being made upon the country. Nothing the Senate does ought to add thereto. It seems to me that the country is getting the notion that the President of the United States intends to enter upon a system of parleying and negotiation with Germany, and that at the end of the negotiations Germany is to come off unscathed.

Also, it appears to be a part of that impression that we are to cease making war and sit down about the table at this time, without any guarantees, and barter and dicker with an enemy that we now appear not to have conquered, but to have at a very great disadvantage.

Mr. President, it is inconceivable to me that these conclusions are correct. Let us review the situation.

What has the President done? Some months ago he laid down 14 propositions which he said must constitute the basic ideas of peace. Last September he added four or five important points. At various times he has freely expressed opinions which have been in the nature of added demands.

As I said the other day, I do not understand the President to have attempted to lay down absolute, concrete conditions. What he did undertake to do was to lay down certain principles. If those principles are carried out as we understand they should be and as I believe the President intends, then we will have a peace that all of us can acclaim.

There seems to be an impression, however, that the President intends to permit or to insist upon a cessation of hostilities at this time, when Germany is in full retreat and at a disadvantage, and thus give her time to recover herself while we sit around the council table. I humbly and yet emphatically submit and insist that there is nothing in what the President of the United States has said to indicate that he has any such purpose in his heart. What has he said?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. REED. I will be glad to yield to the Senator.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I was about to ask the Senator this question: If he does not think that some of the feeling in the country to which the Senator has alluded and has stated was not well founded, was produced by the phrase in the President's response to Germany's request for an armistice that he did not feel at liberty to suggest that to the nations with which we were associated so long as Germany held any conquered territory, or words to that effect? Does not the Senator think that phrase responsible for some of the feeling in the country that he is contemplating an armistice?

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I will answer that by continuing the remark I was just about to make, because I think it will constitute an answer.

What did the President say? The President said: "Here are certain principles in accordance with which peace must ultimately be made." Germany replies: "We accept those principles as a basis of negotiation or talk." But Germany did not expressly say she agreed to the principles.

The President sent back word that he wanted to know whether the principles were to be accepted as a fact conceded or were to be merely a basis of negotiations. Unofficially we understand Germany has replied that she accepts the terms as laid down; that she accepts them in fact, and not as the mere basis of negotiations.

One of the things the President said was: Before I will even communicate your proposition to the allies of the United States you must get off all the conquered territory you have taken. Get off how? Has the President said that we will cease our fighting and allow them to peacefully withdraw? No. It may be that some will infer that that follows, but it seems to me the President is in a position to say to them, "Get off the best way you can. If you want us to cease fighting you as you retreat, then you must make a proposition to us which we can accept, and that proposition might well be a surrender of all the military supplies and all the strategic points; in other words, it might be a complete military surrender, as was the case with Bulgaria.

Mr. President, the solemn duty is upon us to construe the President's attitude as it is. What warrant have we to assume that the President intends to submit a proposition for a cessation of hostilities and allow Germany to begin negotiations with her arms in her hand?

What reason is there to assume that the President contemplates any such pusillanimous or foolish policy as that? He laid down his 14 principles months ago, but at the same time he called on Congress for a mighty army and a great navy. He laid down additional principles last September, but he continued to call for more and more of military supplies. He answered the German note a few days ago, but almost the next day in New York City he appealed to the American people to over-subscribe the greatest war loan ever proposed to any people by any Government. Every member of his Cabinet is before the people to-day asking for money and still more money to carry on this war. Every officer of the Government is engaged in mobilizing the resources of our great land. Every military chief is busy training soldiers and filling the camps with new recruits. Every ship is loaded to the guards carrying over, even during this present moment, tens of thousands of men who go for the purpose of enforcing an honorable peace upon our dishonorable enemy.

Is it possible under these circumstances and conditions that the President contemplates the throwing away of the advantage we now possess? I do not think so. At such a time as this I do not think the Senate ought to give a false note to the country.

I have not been a worshiper of the President, for I worship no man; but I honor the President, and I have always honored him. I respect him as a man, and I highly honor him as the Chief Executive of our great Nation. But I have never been a truckler and cringer or one who at command goes "to heel." However, at this hour I stand here to say that Congress can make no greater mistake, the Senate can make no more tragic blunder than to give the country to understand that Woodrow Wilson proposes to fritter away the fruits of this war. I do not believe it. I can find nothing in my heart, I can find nothing in his conduct, to warrant such an opinion.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not think anyone believes it.

Mr. REED. I hope nobody really believes it. It is inconceivable, sir, that such a thing should be in his breast. These telegrams that have been read voice a latent fear of the people; they also voice America's hearts' desire.

Why should the people not demand that there shall be stern justice meted out? Fifty years Germany has contemplated this war. Fifty years of criminal preparedness. Fifty years of premeditation. Fifty years of cold deliberation. Fifty years of malice aforethought. Fifty years of secret planning and unlawful conspiracy to commit the greatest crime in the history of the world.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Missouri yield?

Mr. REED. I would rather not yield at this moment.

Mr. OWEN. I merely want to call the Senator's attention to the fact that 96 years ago these very powers entered into a written agreement to destroy every democracy on earth, and they never have departed from it a hair's breadth.

Mr. REED. I accept that, but I am talking of the later preparation. If I go back to the first German atrocities, I shall be forced to antedate the birth of Christ.

Behind the veil of Christianity they concealed the soul of barbarism. At the foot of the cross they summoned the gods of cruelty and lust. Within the temples of religion they plotted the atrocities of Tamerlane and the brutalities of Nero. They invoked the spirits of Attila and Thor and pictured them with flaming sword leading the armies of Germany to pillage, murder, and victory.

Peaceful Europe was to be transformed into an inferno of passion. Lust was to glut its appetite by the ravishment of virgins; thieves plunder with the sanction of authority; incendiaries burn cities by command of the Government; and assassins thrive by order of the King.

Murderers were to ply their bloody trade under the protection of the imperial houses of Hapsburg and Hohenzollern. Murder indiscriminate; murder by towns, by cities, by countries, by individuals, by millions. Murder coolly planned and deliberately done; murder unrelieved by passion, without palliation of hatred or mitigation of anger; murder in self-interest; murder of soldiers guilty of no crime save the defense of their native land, ruthlessly and criminally invaded; murder of unarmed and unoffending men; murder of helpless women who stood crying for mercy; murder of innocent babes who smiled into the faces of their assassins; murder of the national spirit of a free people; murder of human liberty.

Such was the crime contemplated. Such was the crime prepared. Such is the crime consummated. Four million men have been stretched dead upon the earth. Countless cripples endure the ceaseless torture of wounds. Innumerable women have suffered defilement and then death at the hands of their ravishers. Babes by the thousands have been slaughtered or left to die of exposure or starvation. Myriads of children have been carried into captivity. Soldiers, prisoners of war, forced by starvation, have been compelled to dig trenches for their enemy, and at the point of the bayonet to bring forward guns to slaughter their comrades.

Belgium, that lay smiling in the sun, has been destroyed. Her proud people are enslaved. Her treaties have been broken; her cities leveled to the earth.

Serbia has been transformed into a desert. Every rock of her mountains is splashed with the blood of her slaughtered people.

Russia, corrupted by loathsome bribery, has been turned over to the merciless dominion of anarchists and the even baser scoundrels who sold Russian honor for German gold.

Roumania is prostrate. The iron heel of the brutal conquerer is upon her breast, his knife at her throat.

Italy's battle line was broken by corruption, not by valor; thus were some of her rich Provinces crushed beneath the German Juggernaut; her people have been slaughtered by the tens of thousands; in every home candles of death burn before the crucifix.

The northern half of France has been harried until its beautiful fields have been transformed into cemeteries. Its wonderful cities are charnel houses filled with the bones of the dead; its altars have been desecrated; its churches destroyed; its homes violated; its families broken up. By the hundreds of thousands children wander in the streets or are turned over to the care of strangers, or have been carried into slavery by their oppressors.

To-day the retreat of the German Army is marked by a line of smoke and flame. Four hundred miles it stretches from the North Sea to the Swiss mountains. It is the fires of French homes set blazing by the torch of Germans infuriated by defeat. Villages 500 years old are given to the flames. In the lurid light of their ruins stand women and children, their lips frozen dumb by fear. The glare of the fiery furnace lights up the fiendish faces of the retreating Huns. Above the conflagration hovers the spirit of Attila, the curse of God.

At such a time as this, with torches blazing, with bayonets wet with the blood of women and of babes, they present their hypocritical appeal for a cessation of arms, for peace by negotiation. Why is this prayer now upon their lips? It is because the sword is at their hearts. The invincible sword of freemen battling for the right; the stubborn sword of England, that never yields; the gallant sword of France, that knows no sheath; the resistless sword of America, that, having been drawn in defense of humanity, will not be returned to its scabbard until the liberty of the world has been attained.

In face of such conditions I do not fear that our President will meekly yield. I believe, sirs, that when the peace council shall have assembled it will be in the midst of a conquered Germany. It may be amidst the flames and smoke of a ruined Germany. I tell you, sirs, when the conditions of peace are written the

name of Woodrow Wilson will not be, it can not be, subscribed to any treaty that does not compel Germany to tread the wine press of repentance, to pay back—to pay back to the world, as far as she can, in her own suffering for the agonies that she has wrought, for the desolation she has brought upon the earth.

Peace now, a cessation of war now? Who has proposed it? Why, sir, if we were to stop at this moment, what would be the condition? Germany is to-day an oasis in a desert of fire and blood, an oasis yet unscathed, yet untouched. What German village has been burned? How many of France's villages lie black and bare, with charred walls outlined against the sky? What German fortress has yet been dismantled?

Is it possible or conceivable that Germany could make a peace now that would be a peace without reparation? Do you fear that the President will subscribe to any document that will allow German statesmen to say to their people, "Behold, though all the rest of the world is wrapped in flames; though all about us there is desolation; though everywhere the German sword has hacked its way through human bone and flesh; though all their churches are destroyed, their crucifixes broken, and their altars desecrated, we have escaped unscathed and unpunished; reparation is not to be exacted"? I tell you, sirs, it can not be in his great heart; it can not be in the heart of any American citizen. The peace that shall come must be a peace of honor; but there can not be honor without retribution. International highwaymen must be taught that the business of the road does not pay. Titled rogues must learn that the thief will be punished, regardless of the quarterings upon his escutcheon. The murderers of the world must be made to know that a crown, though incrustated by priceless jewels, will not protect the head of the monster who brings woe and desolation to the earth.

So I say this much to-day: Let the word go out from this Senate, so far as we can speak, that we have every confidence in the future, and that we propose, and that this Government proposes, to make no peace unless it be a peace that will vindicate the majesty of our arms and, better than that, the majesty of that great cause in which we fight—the cause of human liberty; the cause of earth emancipation; the cause of justice for all races and peoples; and the peace and security of the ages yet to come.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I listened not only with interest but I was at times thrilled with the magnificent outburst from the heart of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED]. I agree with him about everything that he said; my mind and heart are in the condition of his because of the cruelties and atrocities perpetrated by the Germans, all of which he has so graphically described; I agree with everything he has said, except one thing. I do not want to see "a ruined Germany." God knows there is ruin enough on this earth now. I want to see a broken German Army; I want to see a ruined Prussian and Austrian autocracy; I want to see the fiat of the civilized world go forth to the effect that "the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs have ceased to reign"; I want to see the people of Austria-Hungary and of Germany take the government of their land into their own hands; but it would give my heart no gratification to burn a single German village or to retaliate for the ravishment and death of Belgian women by killing German women.

Mr. REED. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Senator from Missouri did not mean that, of course.

Mr. REED. I hope the Senator will not quote me as advocating that.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Of course the Senator did not mean that, but I only mentioned it because such phrases as that used by him—"a ruined Germany"—will produce in the hearts of those who do not think a vindictiveness that is not in accord with the character of the English-speaking race, either on this side of the water or on the other. The English-speaking race has been the race which has made magnanimous and just and generous peaces. Even when my own section went down in this country, although you subjected us to 10 years' of humiliation later, the terms of immediate peace, as granted by Gen. Grant and by Sherman, were at least in themselves just and generous. When the English-speaking race across the water made peace with the Boers they did it with a generosity and a magnanimity hitherto unprecedented in the history of the world, a peace which was followed by an equally unprecedented success in the practical administration of the country, which in its turn was due to the fact that the hearts of the Boers beat with gratitude that all the power of the great Empire of Great Britain had not been extended to humiliate and to punish.

So much for that, Mr. President. In all else that the Senator from Missouri said, I agree with him absolutely. I agree that we can not make peace; that we can not make an armistice looking to peace merely upon German promises; that we must have dictated conditions of armistice and dictated conditions of peace, which must be accepted, and not negotiated. I say that the very object of the President's inquiry was to get the opportunity to tell what we wanted. Senators seem to think that the President of the United States can dictate the terms of peace. He can not do that. Great Britain and France and Italy and Belgium and Serbia must have a voice in that. But before he could answer the German note he made an inquiry to ascertain upon what basis he could begin to talk with the allies about what we were jointly going to dictate or propose. So much for that.

Now, Mr. President, upon this good day, and for several days gone, whatever the physical weather may have been there has been sunshiny weather in the heart and clear weather in the brain wherever Frenchmen or Britons or Belgians or an American heart or a Serbian's or an Italian's beat together in connection with this war. From far-off Mesopotamia, from Palestine, from the Italian front, from the Serbian desert, made so by the Bulgar and the Hun, from where the Americans are fighting in the Vosges, and cooperating with the British in Flanders, along the British front, along the French front by the Aisne, and through the pleasant valleys of the Champagne, there is sunshiny weather in the hearts of men, and there is clear weather in their brains.

Mr. President, God reigns, Woodrow Wilson is President of the United States, and the sun is shining everywhere. Senators need not bother themselves; they need not pester their souls or even pretend that they are pestered with the idea that Woodrow Wilson is going to make a German peace or a peace negotiated in German interest. I do not believe that anybody believes it or even fears it, no matter how some talk.

It was hard to get him into this war; he did not want to go into it if he could honorably help it; but, being in, it will be exceedingly hard to get him out of it, except upon those conditions which shall lead to security for the peace and freedom of the world in the future. He can be trusted to demand the proper guaranties; he can be trusted not to take the word of those who have hitherto regarded their pledged faith, even when written and signed, as a scrap of paper. Everybody knows that.

There will be no armistice, even, Mr. President, until after complete guaranties are given. And who is to tell what the guaranties are? Do you suppose the President of the United States can fix the military guaranties of a military armistice from the White House? Foch, Haig, and our own dear Gen. Pershing, from the very necessities of the military situation, will have something to say about what are sufficient guaranties for an armistice before one is ever entered into; the allies, France and Great Britain, will have as much to say as we will about the conditions of an ultimate peace, and it will not be a peace negotiated in the interest of Germany.

Mr. President, another thing: There has been much talk about "the danger of parleying," the danger that parleying might bring about and the danger of "peace talk." Woodrow Wilson, with a broader and longer vision than that of those who entertain the fear, or say they do, was glad to have a parley—he did not seek it; he sought it themselves. He doubtless was glad of it, because he knew that, while peace talk would do no harm right now in this country, even when it takes place in the United States Senate, and could do no harm in England or France or Italy nor on the army front, because the Tommies, the poilus, and the American doughboys are upon the very flood of victory, and because when peace is mentioned they scorn it except upon their own conditions, and because it will be harder to hold them back when we want to stop than it will to urge them forward as far as we want to go. He knew that it could not do any harm amongst us, but he also knew that it was a deadly weapon, almost equal to the army itself, among the populations in Germany and in Austria-Hungary, and in Turkey. Let him, then, keep on parleying here, and let the boys keep on fighting over there along the Aisne and the Sulpes and the Oise and clear to the Flanders coast and among the Serbian mountains and in the rest of the Balkans. Let the armies go ahead. So far as I am concerned, if I were President, do you know what I would do right now? I would delay answering that and other notes awhile, in order that those enemy populations might "wobble upon the gudgeon" and "sizzle in their own grease." The utmost state of demoralization has already been created among them by the very fact that the German chancellor has proposed an armistice and has said that he wanted to comply

with the President's conditions. This has been reinforced by President Wilson's innocent-looking "queries" and still further by the chancellor's apparent—to them—absolute surrender. It has even infected their army in Serbia and on parts of the west front.

That all of that apparent surrender was a camouflage, I have no doubt. That Germany said it for the purpose of securing an armistice so that the munitions works of Germany could re-supply her armies with shells and guns and that her army might be reorganized behind the lines, I have no doubt; but I also have no doubt as to the fact that Woodrow Wilson is not a fool; that Clemenceau is not a fool; that David Lloyd-George is not a fool; and I have no doubt of the fact that they are just as patriotic and just as intense about a just and full victory at the end of this war as we are. I do know in my heart that neither of them is going to make a peace that is not a right peace for us, and I think I know in my heart that at least two of them are never going to make a peace which is not only apt to secure the peace of the world but which shall also be a just peace, and just even to the German people.

Mr. President, of course, there is a good deal of loose talk about what peace terms Tom or Dick or Harry would make if he had the power, and perhaps I might be justified in saying a few words along that line for myself. I do not see what good it would do particularly, but still I might say them, and I believe I will. If I had the outlining of it, in supplement and explanation to some of the President's points which have been emphasized here this morning; when I came to the definition of "invaded territory," for example, I would say it not only means Belgium and northern France and Serbia but it means Italia Irredenta and Alsace-Lorraine, because we regard them because of their populations as French and Italian territory. I would say, "It is true you invaded them some time ago and not during this war, but get out of them before the armistice shall even start." I would say another thing: "Before an armistice shall even be considered, before we shall cease firing at your backs as you retreat out of Serbia and Palestine and northern France and Flanders; before we cease firing at you, you must drop your arms, *drop them where you are.*" I would say another thing to them: "In addition to these conditions, before an armistice, before any peace negotiations are begun after the armistice, you must give us guaranties that will free us of the fear that with the treachery of your ruling military caste you will use the armistice period and the period of peace negotiation or acceptance for the purpose of reorganizing your army for a future trouble. We therefore politely request—a request for the present which will become a command if you do not comply with it—that you shall put us in possession of Essen, where the Krupp armor and munitions works are; of Mannheim; and of the steel and iron works in Westphalia, and in possession of such other strategic points as will prevent your organizing in our rear and striking us while we are talking."

I am not afraid of peace talk doing any harm amongst us, and I believe that before it is over in Germany and Austria and has completed its awful work there it will not be necessary for the allies to say that "the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs have ceased to reign," but that the peoples there will say it.

I would say, moreover, "before even the armistice can begin you must not only withdraw your armies from Serbia, but you must withdraw them from the territory of the Czecho-Slovaks, because we have recognized them as a nation. And you shall withdraw them from Bosnia and Herzegovina, because they are Serbians in race, in language and religion, and you not only 'invaded' but stole them while Russia was busy with Japan."

I would say one thing more to the German chancellor if I were President. I would say, "You have to satisfy me that you speak for somebody else besides Wilhelm the Kaiser. I have to have a guaranty that he can not put a new chancellor in your place to-morrow who will reverse what you have done or unsay what you have said, because I know that a German chancellor is appointed by the King of Prussia, and your talk about the Reichstag's being behind you does not fool me at all, because, having been a professor in a great American institution, I have at least sufficient knowledge to know that the Reichstag has no authority or jurisdiction in Germany concerning foreign affairs. I would like to have a little plebiscite of the German people, if it please you, to indicate to me that they approve of these terms of peace before our allies and we can consent to withdraw the armies of occupation, although we will make the peace *provisionally* with whatever Government you shall have, but before we withdraw the armies of occupation, as a security that what has been done shall not likely be undone, we want a plebiscite of the German people upon the question, 'Shall these terms be accepted?' the voter to vote 'Yes' or the voter to vote 'No.' And if the German people vote for the treaty and make the peace

with us, and the other guaranties be complied with, then we will not only withdraw our armies, but we will in our prayers pray for you just as we pray for all the other sons and daughters of men all over this world. There will be no vindictiveness in our hearts at all. Brutes—yes; a lot of you, but under orders and training of Hohenzollerns and Junkers. Help us pray God to forgive you."

One of the things I would want to do is to organize a commission for the purpose of discovering all stolen property and sending it back. We can not organize a commission of our own, except while we are in military occupancy, for that purpose, because that would destroy the sovereignty of the Austrian people and the German people, as well as of their Governments.

Then, my friends, I would take a hint from what took place at the close of our Civil War here and embodied in the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution. I would in the treaty of peace have it declared that no indebtedness made by Germany or Austria in aid of the prosecution of this war should ever be paid. These debts, however evidenced, should be canceled and declared invalid. Why? Because that would "spread," as John Allen used to say, "a holy wave of caution" amongst moneyed men as regards hereafter financing a war of aggression like this one. It would do more to keep the peace of the world for 50 years than any one thing that you can think of. A man would not buy a bond hereafter merely because a government issued it when war was to be prosecuted. He would exercise his judgment as to whether it was a war of aggression or a war of defense, and if it were a war of aggression he would say, "No, no. The result of what happened in America after the Civil War, the result of what happened as to German debts after Armageddon, convince me that I want to know beyond a reasonable doubt that this is the right sort of a war or you do not get from me the right sort of a dollar, which I made in the right sort of way." Then I would have Germany pay in reparation a sum equal to the total of the indebtedness thus canceled. Thus the common people would be no more heavily burdened with debt than now, and yet would pay a just indemnity for suffering and loss wrought by them.

Mr. President, I would include a few other little things as a part of the peace treaty. I would take over and hold all of the seized properties of German and Austrian citizens, and sell them and all of the ships that have been seized; and I would take the proceeds and devote them, first, so far as the property in the United States and the ships seized here are concerned, to the indemnity of the families of people who died upon the *Lusitania*, the *Arabic*, the *Sussex*, and upon the other ships upon which men, women, and children were foully murdered. And after I was through with that, I would turn the balance over to a fund for the restoration of Belgium, northern France, and Serbia. And I would demand in the treaty of peace that every interned German and Austrian ship on the earth should have its title vested in us and our allies by the consent of Germany and Austria, and I would also sell them and turn the proceeds into a fund for the restoration of these brutally blighted, devastated lands, and I would make the German Government engage to pay the owners of property destroyed or stolen any balance still left due.

But what good does it do for me to be talking about what I would do if I were making peace, or for half a dozen Senators on this side of the Senate and half dozen on the other side to so talk? We are not the constituted authorities. They exist in France, Great Britain, Italy, and here, and they are trustworthy; and, my friends, God will have more trouble—I am talking about our God now—in restraining them from going too far than He will have in urging them on to severity of terms.

Mr. President, I never heard of one atrocity being cured by another. That blessed old friend of my grandfather's, Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, could never be persuaded to retaliate, upon the ground that he did not see how the punishment of the innocent could cure the crime of the wicked. If you will show me the thief who looted the houses in Belgium I would restore the property and punish him. I would deal likewise with the individual who ordered the looting. If you show me the man who fired upon the *Lusitania* and fired the second shot after she was already helpless, I would have him tried by a court-martial and shot upon German soil.

Mr. REED. Mr. President—

Mr. WILLIAMS. But I am not willing to hurt the man who did not do the deed. If you will show me the man who ordered him to do it, if anybody did, even if it were the Kaiser, I would be willing to have him court-martialed and shot upon German soil. I yield to the Senator now.

Mr. REED. The Senator has almost answered the interrogatory I was going to make. I was going to ask him what he would do with the responsible head of a government that,

through its responsible agents, to wit, its minister to the United States, served notice that it was going to sink the *Lusitania*, and did it several days before the sinking occurred, thus showing, necessarily, that there must have been an order issued.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I read a very interesting story about that, which I will not go into now, to the effect that the real thing that Bernstorff thought would be done was that the *Lusitania* would be destroyed at another place by somebody else, and that this particular man in this particular submarine had received no particular orders. However, that has nothing to do with it. But I say that if I could find a man who had issued an order to commit such a murder upon the high seas, I would have him court-martialed and shot on German soil.

Mr. REED. Will the Senator permit me, since he has allowed me to interrupt him, to say that his remarks concerning what I had to say I think were justified by the expression I used in the heat of running along. I used the words "a ruined Germany." I should have said "a humbled Germany," which more nearly expresses my thought.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, this must happen to Germany, because this, like every other great thing, is in its ultimate analysis a psychological problem, to wit: There must be "a broken and contrite heart" in Germany, but that can be trusted to come about within due time after total defeat. Whenever you take out of the German mind the idea that they can whip and override the world as a superior race of supermen your psychological result has followed automatically. No people ever made more mistakes. Ever. Bismarck—brute as he was and liar as he was, because he brought on the Franco-Prussian War by a lie and a forgery—said that the imponderabilia were very important things. The modern German forgot the imponderabilia. He forgot that the strongest things in this world are traditions, ideals, sentimentalities, love, hatred of cruelty, a sense of justice, and aspirations for fraternity. These modern Germans came to the conclusion finally that they could erect a material machine, with no imponderabilia about it, a great organized industrial and military machine, dedicated to the god Efficiency, and that just so they had a machine perfect enough it did not make any difference what people loved or what people hated, what people's past was, or to what future people aspired. It was the same old philosophy, Mr. President, that brought the first "blonde beast," with his knife in his teeth, around the shores of the Caspian to devastate the Greek world and the Roman Empire.

The Senator from Missouri said one good thing—which was not the only good thing he said—that might be expressed in one sentence. The best thing he said, though not in his exact language, was that this has been a war with one side worshipping Christ, the God of love and justice, bearing aloft his cross, and the other side worshipping Thor, the brute god, and flourishing his hammer.

But do you think every modest merchant and every peasant in Germany serving in these armies was carrying any hammer of Thor? He probably never heard of Thor, or his hammer either. But they had been disciplined and taught; they are—I know them—at once one of the most docile people, while they are one of the most emotional people on the face of the earth. For forty or fifty years they had been indoctrinated with a religion new to the world since the Roman Empire died, the religion of State worship. It existed in Rome.

The reason why the early Christians were persecuted and burned and thrown to the lions was not on account of their religion, but because they would not bow down to and worship the image of the Emperor and the Roman banner as they were carried through the ranks. They were, therefore, held guilty of treason to the State.

So these false prophets taught the modern Germans State worship. "Whatever is for the good of the State is right," and "the right of the State is founded upon might," and "the might of the State is founded upon implicit military obedience" to the military autocracy. That became their religion, practically.

Suppose you had been educated that way, and your father before you had been educated that way, too. Would not you have been like them, brutalized by the philosophy of brutality? One of the reasons why I have always objected to Federal control of education consists in the fact that as long as you have 48 different schemes, there is no danger of stereotyping men intellectually or morally. But this autocracy did stereotype these Germans.

Do you hate them for it? I do not. I pity them, with my whole soul. I hate the fellows who organized the machine and made of them nothing but cogs and springs in it. But I do not hate them.

Mr. President, after all is said, you can trust the President of the United States, I think, to do another thing, and that is to organize one piece of machinery, if it might be so called, consisting altogether, nearly, of imponderabilia, and that will be an "Amphictyonic council of the civilized world," a league of nations to secure and enforce the peace of the world, first by commercial pressure, and if that fail then by force itself, just as the municipal law is ultimately enforced by force itself, although in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a thousand no resistance is made to its execution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WALSH in the chair). The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived—

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, one sentence and I am through.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 4647) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, two men stand forth, to my mind, to-day as the greatest men upon the international arena at this time. There are greater men in the world of course, "mute, inglorious Miltons," and all that, who have never been in position, but the two men with the opportunity to be seen and known who stand forth greatest in civil rank to-day are Woodrow Wilson and David Lloyd-George, and I would rather trust those two than to trust myself. Which is the greater of the two it would be hard to say. David Lloyd-George has an element of audacity and a promptitude of action that our man has not to the same extent. Our man has some elements of nonpassionated, cool, and cautious and even-handed judgment that David Lloyd-George, with his peppery Welsh temperament, is incapable of.

Mr. President, I do want the American people to be persuaded by anything that is said here or elsewhere that there is the slightest fear that the hope of the world, the civilization of the world, humanity itself, gentleness and love and mercy, or the complete victory necessary to secure these, will be forgotten by either of these men or by either of the great countries which they represent. I want no man to fear that there can possibly be an armistice without absolute guaranties that render Germany harmless to violate the armistice; that there can be any peace except a peace which shall secure the peace of the world as fully as it can be done by mere human agency, a peace which shall be a just peace, and one which shall tend to the future development of democratic institutions all over the world. When I say "democratic institutions" I do not mean democratic forms of government. I care not whether the form be republican or monarchical or what not, but the spirit of the government should be democratic, as it is in France and in England and here, and Canada and Australia, and wherever English-speaking white men breathe, brought up with the worship of justice for which that race has always had an innate and a trained sense, which led to the development of the common law itself, which is the unwritten constitution of the great branch of the white race which inhabits the continents and islands on which the sun never sets.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution which I desire to offer and to have read and lie on the table. I merely wish to say one or two words on the subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 316), as follows:

Whereas the Constitution authorizes the President to make "treaties by and with the advice and consent of the Senate"; and
Whereas it is the constitutional function and duty of the Senate to advise with the President in the making of treaties; and
Whereas the victorious Germans in 1871 required the French people to elect a national assembly for the purpose of negotiating peace; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Senate respectfully advise the President that it is the sense of the Senate that the treaty concluding the present war and requiring the consent of the Senate should be made with the peoples concerned through representatives duly elected for that purpose and empowered to conduct such negotiations by them in the name and by the authority of the peoples of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Resolved further, That the Senate favors the vigorous and uninterrupted prosecution of the war until a democratic, just, and acceptable peace is made certain upon the terms approved by the President and faithful to the cobelligerents of the United States.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I have no doubt the treaty of peace which will be agreed upon and submitted to the Senate for its ratification will provide for a just peace, an acceptable peace, an enduring peace. As to the negotiation of that treaty I agree with others that we remit those problems and that responsibility to those charged by the Constitution with that high and solemn duty. The President will, of course, vindicate the honor and guarantee the security of the United States and keep faith with our cobelligerents in any convention which may be entered into.

The resolution offered by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] meets one phase of the situation. The resolution offered by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] meets another phase of the situation. Those resolutions relate to terms. The resolution which I have offered relates to methods. It does indeed imply the fate of the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns. For my own part, I shall be disappointed if those dynasties, survivals of the Middle Ages, shall survive this war. I doubt if the American people will be satisfied with anything less than the abdication or dethronement of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns. I believe that if the American people could write the protocol it would consist of two words: "Unconditional surrender." Their sovereign challenge to the Imperial German Government would be "You surrender." Such a result would commit, and such a resolution as I have introduced would commit the fate and the future of the German people to the hands of a democratized people.

In 1871 the victorious Germans compelled the French people to elect a national assembly for the purpose of negotiating peace. May we not with even-handed justice commend this German precedent unto German observance? I know of no better way to begin, or to permit them to begin their own democratization, than to have them negotiate the treaty of peace in the name and by the authority not of Hapsburgs, not of Hohenzollerns, not in the name of and by the authority of the Imperial German Government, but in the name and in behalf of the people themselves.

There are three motives or purposes for which war may be waged: For conquest or spoils, for revenge or retaliation, and for justice and an assured peace. I agree with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] that America is incapable of waging war for conquest and for spoils. It would be unworthy of all our traditions, unworthy of the character alike of the American people and the American Government. The motive and purpose of waging war for conquest and spoils have been reserved in modern times to the Imperial German Government. America is likewise incapable of waging war for sheer revenge or retaliation. Our people are incapable of dealing destruction merely for the sake of destruction; are incapable of inflicting pain merely for the sake of inflicting pain. Such methods and motives are reserved for Huns and Tartars and untutored savages. We are waging war against such methods of warfare. We can not compete with them in cruelty. We do not pretend to be their rivals in ruthlessness. Our conduct should convince our enemies of the superiority of our principles and our methods and our civilization. We should seek a moral as well as a military triumph.

I agree with the Senator from Mississippi that the allies would not if they could burn one single German town for the sake of witnessing the flames. They would not, if they could, put to death one single German child or German woman, or punish the innocent and the helpless. That is not the motive; that is not the purpose of the present contest. Whatever reparation will be insisted upon I am sure will be insisted upon not for the mere sake of the burden, the injury, or the suffering that the reparation would visit upon the German people, but in order to amend, as far as it can be amended, the injuries and the devastation visited upon these invaded lands.

I would have the German people understand that America is waging this war not for those purposes and that the United States has no purpose to wreak vengeance upon the German people as mere vengeance. I would have the German people understand that America is waging this war to establish a just peace and to insure as far as human foresight can insure a permanent and enduring peace, a peace that no autocracy will dare to violate in the future.

I hope that one of the results of this war will be to convince autocracy everywhere, and to convince those who might by any chance aspire to autocracy, that they can not with safety provoke this great democracy to wrath and to arms. This democracy is slow to wrath. It should be slow to wrath. But when it once unsheathes the sword it should not sheathe it again until justice is established, or until security is made doubly secure. I would have this war teach this truth to the skeptical everywhere that no government can ever become strong enough to adopt as a rule of conduct the abhorrent doctrine that the moral law is not binding upon states and nations. The acceptance and practice of this doctrine is the fundamental fault, the fatal fault, of the German policy, German culture, German philosophy, German thought, and German conduct. This is the cult of international anarchy, the creed of international immorality. This shocking philosophy is the mother of evils. It should perish utterly from the earth.

Mr. President, I would teach that lesson in such a way not that the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns but that the German

people themselves will celebrate the day that peace is concluded as the day of their own deliverance from the twin evils of militarism and autocracy. I would have those people convinced that the breaking of the tiger's teeth was as essential to their own deliverance as it was to the peace and security of an endangered world.

RECONSTRUCTION COMMISSIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Mr. McCUMBER obtained the floor.

Mr. OWEN. I ask permission to present a memorandum on the reconstruction commission established by Great Britain, France, and Italy, and several other nations. I think it will be of particular interest at this time, because there are several of these measures pending. I should like to have it printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RECONSTRUCTION COMMISSIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

[By Elisha M. Friedman, to appear in the New York Times Annalist.]

(The Weeks and Owen resolutions and the Overman bill providing for the creation of a Federal commission on reconstruction has aroused interest in the general subject. There had been previously introduced for a similar purpose a bill by Representative EDMONDS on May 16, a Senate resolution by Senator WEEKS on September 22, and a House resolution by Representative LONDON on October 4.)

It is only by studying the steps taken by the various countries, belligerent or neutral, on all the continents that we in America can properly understand the meaning of reconstruction.

1. FRANCE.

France was the first country to take any steps providing for the after-war period. It was because her territories were devastated that her statesmen were compelled to cope with the problems of rehabilitation. On May 18, 1916, the President of the Republic created an inter-ministerial committee to aid in the reconstruction of the invaded regions. On July 28, 1917, this commission was reorganized by presidential order. It included the ministers of the interior, of public works and transportation, of agriculture, of labor and social prevention, of war and munitions, and the undersecretaries of the general administration of the army and of commerce, industry, posts, and telegraphs.

During August, 1917, a law was passed to open an agricultural credit of 300,000,000 francs for the purpose of purchasing material, draft animals, cattle, seed, grain, plants, and other material urgently needed for the resumption of agricultural life in the devastated departments. A similar measure was enacted to aid the merchants in the invaded regions in purchasing the raw materials and tools needed for the restoration of industry.

On September 25, 1917, there was issued a presidential order constituting the ministry of public works and transportation as a special committee charged with studying the means needed to reestablish dwellings and to rehabilitate the real property damaged or destroyed by the invaders. This committee includes representatives of the various cabinet departments and of their bureaus. Its duties are to conduct investigations, to control building materials, to find manual labor and means of transportation, and to prepare the plans necessary to restore roads and structures.

In a letter to the President, dated October 1, 1917, the minister of finance, L. L. Klotz, pointed out that although there had been paid out to the war sufferers installments to apply on the reimbursement for the war damage inflicted, this measure was inadequate to revive economic activity. He recommended, therefore, that there be created a commission to study the means of organizing credit, so as to facilitate the restoration of industry and agriculture. Shortly thereafter, October 17, the President created this commission under the presidency of the minister of finance, and including representatives of the various ministries, economists, engineers, bankers, members of the chambers of commerce, and of various agricultural and industrial societies. (Sources: Bulletin de Statistique et de Legislation Comparés, for August, September, October, 1917.)

2. GERMANY.

Reconstruction in its wider aspects was taken up in Germany officially in August, 1916. On the 3d of that month the Bundesrat issued its decree nominating an imperial commission for the period of economic transition. (Reichscommissariat für Übergangswirtschaft.) Article 1 of this law specifically empowers the commissioner to control the transportation of merchandise and its distribution according to the instructions of the Imperial Chancellor, who will fix the date when the law ceases to be in effect. The commission was to be aided by representatives of the Federal States, the officials of the Empire, and a number of specialists. The duties of the commission, according to an address of the Finance Minister Helfferich, at a meeting of the Reichstag committee on trade and commerce, October 14 and 16, were to bring the soldiers back to civil life, to care for the disabled and provide suitable work for them, to eliminate women and children from the labor market, and to restore protective labor laws. Its additional tasks were to create credit based on real and personal property, to revive trade, to deflate the currency, and to make liquid the capital tied up in war loans. Most important of all, it would study the raw material and shipping situation.

The commission consists of nine departments, covering (1) finance; (2) transportation; (3) iron ores, timber, paper, and stone; (4) the nonferrous metals, graphite, and clay; (5) textiles, with subdepartments for cotton, wool, flax, and substitutes, etc.; (6) food, feeds, and meats; (7) over-seas imports, as rubber, tobacco, sausage skins, oils, and fats, skins, hides, and leathers; (8) overland imports; (9) the general organization of transition economy, priority, rationing, demobilization, and general economic and legal questions. There are also two special departments covering statistics and administration.

To aid it in its work there was also created a "transition economy parliament," a council of over 250 members, subdivided into 21 subcommittees, which include some of the leading financiers and manufacturers. On October 21, 1917, a new ministry was created to deal with problems of reconstruction, whose purpose was to unify the divers measures already undertaken. The imperial ministry of economics (Reichswirtschaftsamt) took over that part of the duties of the ministry of the interior which dealt with social and economic problems and absorbed the imperial commission for transition economy. The

new ministry has under its jurisdiction policies concerning industry, taxation, statistics, bourses and banks, tariffs, treaties, foreign trade, as well as social legislation. Its three main tasks are at present to find a supply of raw material and foodstuffs, to supply and distribute ocean tonnage, to improve the rate of exchange, and, in general, to facilitate the transition from a war régime to a peace basis.

It is divided into two main sections, one dealing with commercial and economic questions and the other with domestic social policy. The former is subdivided into three subsections, the first dealing with agriculture, manufacturing, and banking, which are further classified by industries. This subsection will deal with compulsory amalgamation of industry, taxation, and related questions. The second deals with navigation, water power, fisheries, etc. The third is concerned with economic intelligence and information, exhibitions, publications, propaganda, and chambers of commerce abroad. (Sources: *The Bulletin de Statistique et de Legislation Comparée*, Oct. 1917, pp. 656-657; *Board of Trade Journal*, Jan. 31, 1918; *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, Aug. 31, 1917; *Vorwaerts*, Aug. 9, 1917; *Vossische Zeitung*, Feb. 7, 1918; *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Feb. 19, 1918.)

3. GREAT BRITAIN.

Late in 1916 the British Board of Trade appointed several committees in the various trades to consider their position after the war, with special reference to international competition, and to report such measures as might be necessary to safeguard those positions.

After vigorous appeals by influential Englishmen like Sidney Webb and Lord Parker, of Waddington, and largely as a result of the study of the progress of preparations for peace made in other countries, Great Britain established a ministry of reconstruction on August 21, 1917, to promote organization and development after the termination of the war. (New ministries act, 1917, 7 and 8 Geo. C. c. 44.) The act of Parliament provided that "it shall be the duty of the minister of reconstruction to consider and advise upon the problems which may arise out of the present war and may have to be dealt with upon its termination, and for the purposes aforesaid to institute and conduct such inquiries, prepare such schemes, and make such recommendations as he thinks fit. The act also provided that "the minister present a report to Parliament each year of such of the schemes prepared and recommendations made by him as he shall deem suitable for publication."

Shortly after its organization the ministry published a list of its committees and commissions, 87 in all and falling into 15 groups: (1) Trade development; (2) finance; (3) raw materials; (4) coal and power; (5) intelligence; (6) scientific and industrial research; (7) demobilization and disposal of stores; (8) labor and employment; (9) agriculture and forestry; (10) public administration; (11) housing; (12) education; (13) aliens; (14) legal (prewar contracts and "period of the war"); (15) miscellaneous (munitions, land settlement, and civil aerial transport). The reports of many of these committees have been submitted to Parliament and several published.

4. CANADA.

In Canada there was formed early in 1918 an unofficial committee called the Canadian Industrial Organization Association, in order to consider and prepare to meet the after-war problems in industry, to maintain industrial stability, and to obtain wise consideration and treatment of reconstruction problems. According to a statement issued by the executive committee of the association, it will investigate the conditions in the various industries, the markets which they must supply, the particulars of labor, competition, and the comparative cost of transportation. Among its other aims are to promote better relations between capital and labor, to improve the social and industrial welfare of women, to support technical and general education, to increase cooperation among rural producers, improve rural conditions, and provide for land settlement of the demobilized army. (*New York Times*, June 9, 1918.)

5. ITALY.

In the early part of 1918 the Italian Government created a commission to study and formulate measures needed to affect a transition from a state of war to a state of peace. There had been various committees working, but a new ministry of economic reorganization was advocated to consider the acquisition of raw materials for manufactures, the increase of the Italian merchant marine, the regulation of foreign exchange by the control of trade, and the treatment of problems in labor, education, and social policy. The new commission has two auxiliary commissions, the first of which deals with administrative, judicial, and social questions, and the second with industrial, commercial, and agricultural problems. Each of the auxiliary commissions will be subdivided into sections to investigate the question apportioned to them and submit their findings to the central committee, which will draft a report to Parliament. (*Weekly Bulletin*, Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce, May 27, 1918.)

6. JAPAN.

With a view to inaugurating new policies so as to insure continuation of its prosperity after the war, Japan appointed an economic commission, consisting of representatives of the departments of foreign affairs, finance, communications, and of agriculture and commerce, who ought to have the services of distinguished Japanese scientists. The scope of work will include a study of the changed conditions of industries as a result of the war, the retention of its foreign trade, especially in the Far East, and the fostering of the newly established industries and an investigation of the necessary tariff reforms and the effect of the war on national and international finance. (*Japanese Official Gazette*, Americas, April, 1917.)

As part of the plan for fostering foreign trade there was established in Yokohama a foreign-trade bureau, which will investigate foreign-trade conditions, collect and exhibit samples of imports and exports and catalogues and magazines. It is further intended to send technical commissioners abroad to study industry so as to maintain the efficiency of native industries. Exhibits of samples of Japanese goods in various countries are another feature of the after-war trade program. (*Weekly Bulletin*, Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce, Aug. 12, 1918.)

7. RUSSIA.

In 1916 Russia similarly had appointed a commission to study the problems of transitions from war to peace. The program was to include the development of the resources of the Empire, to adapt industrial concerns now on a war basis to peace conditions, to secure raw material, fuel, and machinery, and to secure employment for the demobilized army and navy. In addition, the problem of currency and

the public debt was to be taken up. A brief summary of the scope of the work of this economic and financial commission included the following questions of—

- I. Foreign trade.
- II. Attraction of foreign capital.
- III. Development of ways of communication.
- IV. Financial measures necessary for railway construction and waterway improvement.
 - (1) Measures to coordinate rail and water transportation.
 - (2) Commercial navigation and the construction of ports.
 - (a) Creation of a commercial fleet, improvement of conditions of commercial navigation, and construction of ports.
 - (b) Development of navigation by sea, particularly the establishment of a northern water route.
- V. Development and improvement of agriculture.
- V. Development of industry:

- (4) Establishment of credit for industrial concerns.
- (6) Measures relating to individual branches of industry and the promotion of new branches of industry to manufacture articles now imported.

VI. Regulation of foreign and domestic trade:

- (1) Measures for promoting the sale of goods exported from Russia; the establishment of permanent official bureaus, both in Russia and abroad, for supplying information and promoting foreign trade; development of Consular Service.

VII. Measures for utilizing natural resources and developing industrial life in the north of European Russia and various districts of Asiatic Russia.

- VIII. Measures relating to State dominions:
 - (1) Extension and improvement of forestry.
 - (2) Exploitation of oil-bearing land, salt springs, gold-bearing areas, and other State property.
 - (3) Consideration of introducing system in some branches of industry and trade.

(Footnote.—Abstract of Journal of Russian-American Chamber of Commerce, Moscow, October, 1916, Commerce Reports, Feb. 8, 1917.)

8. BELGIUM.

Upon the recommendation of the minister of foreign affairs, King Albert created a ministry of economic affairs on October 12, 1917. In the words of the recommending report "the destruction and ravages of the war and the illegal despoiling of our resources by the enemy had previously led the Government to create a number of organizations to prepare for the restoration of the economic life of the kingdom. However, it is advisable that the work of economic reconstruction be directed after methodical plans in which all the great national interests will be harmonized. There should be an intelligent unity of conception in the economic field. A wisely coordinated plan will promote the best interests of the nation. A consideration of the ends to be attained and of the facts involved lead me to the conviction that only a new department will be able to prepare adequate solutions to the grave questions which will crowd in upon us."

Article II of the law provides "that there will be attached to the ministry of economic affairs (a) the bureau of economic studies; (b) the committee of economic inquiry at London, Paris, and The Hague; (c) the Italo-Belgian committee of economic studies; (d) the Belgian delegation to the permanent international committee of economic policy; (e) the bureau of industry, created in order to study the measures to be taken and the policy necessary for the industrial reconstruction of Belgium; (f) the national consulting committee of minerals and metals; (g) the commission for the industrial and agricultural revival of Belgium; (h) the bureau of war devastation." Article III provides that "the minister of economic affairs shall take over from the other ministers the plans in preparation for economic reconstruction."

Immediately upon his appointment the new minister, Paul Hymans, recommended that there be created an economic council, consisting of experts outside of Belgium, to whom the minister might look for advice and cooperation. This body was created by royal decree on October 13, 1917. A reconstruction mission, consisting of a representative of the Belgian Board of Trade, some scientists, some labor representatives, and technical experts, is to visit the United States for the purpose of making a survey of American industrial methods, which may be used in rebuilding Belgium.

An industrial company, whose aim is to assist in the purchase of tools and raw materials of all kinds, metals, leather, textiles, chemicals, farming and other machinery, electrical goods, cars, and trucks, was organized under the name "Comptol National pour le Réprise de l'Activité Économique en Belgique."

The planning for industrial rehabilitation and for the rebuilding of destroyed villages and cities, the repairing of ruined structures, and the replacing of public and private equipment has been provided for. A committee on national reconstruction has been formed under the leadership of the prime minister, Baron de Broqueville. (*Bulletin de Statistique et de Legislation Comparée*, Jan., 1918, Commerce Reports, June 6, 1918; *Christian Science Monitor*, Apr. 24, 1918; *New York Times*, Feb. 24, 1918.)

9. AUSTRIA.

Like Germany, Austria also has a minister for transition economy. There was recently formed in Hungary an interministerial commission for the distribution and utilization of military goods which are no longer needed on demobilization. The commission will be charged with the distribution of these goods among the various branches of production and with the control of the central organization which is to be created to carry out the actual work. The commission consists of the minister for transition economy (as president), one representative from each of the ministries of trade, agriculture, finance, the interior, national defense, transition economy and national welfare, and the national food ministry. (*Pester Lloyd*, Board of Trade Journal, Mar. 25, 1918.)

10. BULGARIA.

In anticipation of a revival of trade after the war, Bulgaria developed water-power facilities, created a bank for the promotion of trade, and founded a great variety of banks for the financing of industry with a total capitalization of about \$50,000,000. (Commerce Reports, Oct. 27, 1917; Jan. 22, 1918.)

11. SERBIA.

In realization of the collapse of agricultural and commercial activity in Serbia, the State has undertaken to assist and control private initiative in the attempt to revive the national industrial life. The minist-

try of commerce communicated with traders and banks and others concerned in the reprovizioning of the country so as to regulate the quantity, price, and origin of imports, special preference being given to the allies.

Assuming that the central powers would retain Serbia, the Hungaro-Rosnian and Oriental Economic Central Association has undertaken a study of the reconstruction needs of Serbia in agriculture, industry, trade, as well as social and cultural institutions.

(Footnote: British Board of Trade Journal, Feb. 1, 1917. "Our Economic and cultural work in conquered Serbia," by Dr. Constantine Partos.)

12. SPAIN.

In order to anticipate its future needs, Spain appointed, late in 1917, a commission of the directorate general of industry and commerce, which, within four months, was to draw up a memorandum dealing with the questions of the foreign trade of Spain. The subjects on which the commission is to report cover—

1. The state of the foreign trade of Spain in 1913 and 1914, classified by countries and articles and citing the competition encountered and the reasons Spanish manufacturers found it impossible to retain these markets.

2. The disturbance in the world market occasioned by the war; nations that have suspended their exports; nations that have maintained their export, showing the extent and the conditions; markets lost and won by Spain; the permanent and transitory character of new exports from Spain; the strengthening of former branches of the export trade; Spanish industries that have increased their productive capacity by entering such market.

3. The analysis of the economic consequences of the war, including the possibility of economic wars and the formation of two irreconcilable groups, or the necessity for living together economically with no greater separation than that of differential tariffs among allies; the consequences to Spain of either form of international trade arrangements, and the foundation on which Spain may base the continuation of its economic relations with the various groups; an inquiry into the system of commercial treaties, including a consideration of the "most-favored nation" clause; a tariff for encouraging Spanish industries; and a defensive custom tariff to counteract export bounties.

4. Economic independence of any country is not entirely desirable as it might isolate it from the rest of the world; the commission is therefore to include a classification by countries—the market and products of the goods which Spain can contribute toward the trade of the world in such a manner as to allow Spain to obtain supplies from foreign countries and build up home industries by acquiring outlets abroad. (Gaceta de Madrid, Oct. 15, 1917; Board of Trade Journal, Nov. 22, 1917.)

Late in 1918 the minister of public works announced "the creation of an organization which will forthwith take care of the economic life of Spain both for the period of transition between war and peace and for the lines of policy which will have to be followed after the war." (British Board of Trade Journal, Aug. 1, 1918.)

13. HOLLAND.

On July 2, 1918, the Netherlands minister of foreign affairs installed the "advisory commission for economic information abroad," with a view to coping with the increased impediments in the world's traffic after the war. Among the plans provided for are an increase in the number of consuls, greater facilities for travel by consuls, and the creation of an office of technical adviser at the important consular posts. (Commerce Reports, Sept. 3, 1918. New York Times, Aug. 7, 1918.)

14-15. SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES.

Representatives of the Scandinavian countries assembled at Stockholm to consider means for the protection of Scandinavian trade after the war, in the direction of further commercial cooperation, the adoption of uniform commercial law, a revision of the maritime law, and the further maintenance of the Scandinavian coin convention. (London Economist, Oct. 20, 1917.)

In order to acquire greater economic independence and to import the least possible amount of goods, the Norwegian Government established a department of industrial supply, whose function will be to develop the natural resources of the country and to build up the industrial organization of the country. (Commerce Reports, Feb. 7, 1918.)

In Sweden there was formed in the summer of 1918 a new organization to aid the export trade after the war. As a result of the close cooperation in Germany between the State and industry, Swedish merchants felt the need of following all measures taken in foreign countries which may be inimical to Swedish interests. By cooperation and centralization Swedish traders intend to secure the most favorable prices and conditions. An expert committee capable of negotiating new trade treaties is an outgrowth of the new organization. (Tidsskrift for Industri, Commerce Reports, July 6, 1918.)

16. CHILE.

On September 6, 1917, the President of Chile appointed a committee to investigate and report on the condition which the industries and commerce of Chile will face upon the reestablishment of peace, the competition between domestic and imported commodities and to recommend measures for the protection of the present condition and for the encouragement of their further development. (Commerce Reports, Dec. 15, 1917.)

17. BRAZIL.

Some recent economic measures, though not strictly relating to post-bellum conditions, indicate the foresight with which all nations regard the future. At a recent meeting of the Commercial Association of Rio de Janeiro it was proposed to extend the commercial relations of Brazil by studying how to increase reciprocal commercial relations between Brazil and its allies, by asking for suggestions from chambers of commerce in foreign countries concerning Brazilian legislation, tariffs, exchange, and merchant marine, and by intensifying domestic production. (Commerce Reports, May 14, 1918.)

18. COLOMBIA.

A financial conference of the representatives of various chambers of commerce in Colombia convened to study the drop in foreign exchange, its cause and remedy, the deficiency of currency, and the fiscal crisis.

OPPOSITION TO RECONSTRUCTION DISCUSSIONS.

In England some of the leading publications have opposed the discussion during war time of afterwar conditions because of the many uncertain factors in the situation. The London Economist (May 4, 1918) severely criticized the report of the Balfour committee on com-

mercial and financial policy after the war. A similar attitude is prevalent in Italy and Japan. (Corriere della Sera, July 16, 1918; Nichi Nichi, Oct. 22, 1917.)

PEACE PROPOSALS OF CENTRAL POWERS.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, I thank the senior Senator from North Dakota for his courtesy in yielding for a very brief statement. During the morning hour I presented to the Senate a petition in the form of a telegram sent to me by the chamber of commerce at Jackson, Mich., one of the strongest and most patriotic business organizations in our State. It expressed the almost unanimous sentiment of the people. It insisted that there should be no peace parley, no armistice, at this fateful hour, but that the President and Congress should demand of Germany unconditional surrender. I was glad to present that petition to the Senate and to say to my constituents that I am in hearty accord with their sentiments. I think it is unfortunate that this controversy should have arisen. There was no adequate excuse for it. The President's reply to the German chancellor has made equivocal what the people and its Army and Navy felt was certain. It is the doubt that disheartens, when hope and courage should predominate. The President, however embarrassing it may be to himself, must save the diplomatic situation. He should counsel with our allies before speaking to Germany. I must assume that his often-expressed desire to speak the will of the people still maintains and in some way will find expression now. I have presented this petition in order that he may understand what the peoples' will is. I trust that it will reach his attention.

To lose the advantage which the allies now have and to lessen our great influence with them would be a colossal blunder and might result in a practical German victory. It must not be.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I know of nothing that can be more valuable at this time than these discussions as they have been going on for the last two or three sessions of the Senate. I know that the President keeps in close touch with the sentiments of the people of the United States, but I believe that the sentiments of the several States are emphasized by the declarations that are made by the several Senators on the floor upon the great problem now before the American people.

I desire first, Mr. President, to have read a telegram, a single one which I have selected from many from my own State, which I believe very succinctly expresses the conviction of all the people of the State upon any proposed armistice or any suggestion of peace. I ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NUGENT in the chair). The telegram will be read, without objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

MANDAN, N. DAK., October 13, 1918.

Hon. P. J. McCUMBER,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Citizens of Mandan oppose armistice that will give Huns opportunity to retire safely within their own borders with army fully equipped to defy the world. We should demand unconditional surrender as first step.

E. D. TOSTEVIN, Mandan Daily Pioneer.

Mr. McCUMBER. I now present, as epitomizing my own views upon this subject, the resolution which I introduced the other day. I ask that the Secretary may read the resolution, omitting the preamble.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. McCUMBER on the 7th instant, omitting the preamble, as follows:

Senate concurrent resolution 24.

Resolved by the Senate of the United States (the House of Representatives concurring), That there shall be no cessation of hostilities and no armistice until the Imperial German Government shall disband its armies and surrender its arms and munitions, together with its Navy, to the United States and her allies in this war;

That before any armistice or peace proposals shall be considered the Imperial German Government shall unreservedly consent to the principles of reparation declared as terms of peace by our allies;

That it will pay in damages the cost of rebuilding and reconstructing all the cities and villages destroyed by its armies and restore to fertility the lands devastated by it;

That it will repay every dollar and the value of all property exacted from the people of any territory invaded by it;

That it will make proper compensation and allowance for every crime committed by its armies contrary to the laws of warfare and humanity, whether on land or sea;

That it will return to France Alsace and Lorraine and the indemnity exacted from her in 1870; and

That it, further, accepts all the additional conditions laid down by the President in his said address of January 8, 1918.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, until the President replied to the peace proposal of the German chancellor, Prince Maximilian of Baden, I had rested secure in my conviction that nothing would stay the progress of our war until we should secure an unconditional surrender on the part of the enemy, and that, after having secured that unconditional surrender, we would then be in a position not to make a negotiated peace

but a dictated peace with the enemy which would not only assure restoration and reparation but also the future peace of the world. I had felt assured after the President's speech of September 27, in which he declared that—

We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the Governments of the central empires, because we have dealt with them already and have seen them deal with other Governments that were parties to this struggle at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest. They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We can not come to terms with them. They have made it impossible. The German people must by this time be fully aware that we can not accept the word of those who forced this war upon us. We do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language of agreement.

I say I had felt assured that there would be no further discussion until the Hohenzollern dynasty had been entirely eliminated by the German people themselves. I had also felt a degree of assurance and certainty that inasmuch as the President recognized that we and our allies were fighting a world war for world interest we would not even suggest terms that were not entirely in accord with the declarations of our allies.

The President's reply to the German chancellor, I confess, has made me a little less certain of our position. I have never made any criticism of that reply and shall not do so, because the reply did not speak the last word the President had to say on the subject, but rather presented certain queries the answer to which might determine his position as to whether he would give any answer whatever to the plea. It seemed to me, however, that the President's reply as it then stood left certain inferences and was subject to such implication as might estop this country from making the full demands which justice, right, and the sentiment of the American people and our allies demand. It seemed to me that when the President requested the chancellor to state whether or not he represented the powers which were responsible for this war or the German people, he would be more or less bound by the reply of the chancellor, and especially if his reply asserted that he did represent the German people, and also that when the President suggested to this chancellor that he did not feel justified in presenting the question of an armistice to our allies so long as the German Government was in possession of any part of the allies' country, and especially when he requested to know whether it was the intention of the German Government to immediately withdraw its armies from conquered territory, that the German Government might well assume that if they did declare their purpose to withdraw from invaded territory and proceeded to do so—as they are now doing with some speed, accelerated by the bayonets of American and allied soldiers—that an armistice would probably follow; and, further, that when the President asked the German Government whether or not they agreed to accept not merely the principle but the terms laid down in his address of January 8 and subsequent addresses, that the question carried with it the suggestion that if they answered directly in the affirmative, no other or further terms would be imposed by this country or its allies as conditions of peace.

And, Mr. President, it was because I felt that the country ought to know that the Senate of the United States does not believe that the mere withdrawal of German troops from conquered territory, and even the surrender of claim to the French Provinces seized in 1871, or the reconstruction of Baltic States, set out in the President's several addresses, ought to be the limit of our demands or the only conditions upon which we will discuss terms of peace with that Empire, that I introduced my resolution on the 7th day of October.

It will be remembered that nearly three-fourths of a year of most desperate warfare has elapsed since the declaration made by the President on the 8th of January, 1918. At that time the German Government defied the United States. Since that time about a million brave men have died because of that refusal. Does not that fact justify an additional demand if the President's terms do not include all that justice requires? Since that time the German armies have wantonly destroyed hundreds of cities and villages. Doesn't that fact alone justify and even demand additional penalties?

I now wish to present to the Senate and the country each specific declaration in my resolution, upon which I ask a response from the Members of this body. I know what the response of the people of this country is as to each demand contained in this resolution. The first is—

That before any armistice shall be considered the Imperial German Government shall unreservedly consent to the principles of reparation declared as terms of peace by our allies.

The Senate will remember that again and again have Great Britain, speaking through her several premiers, and France, speaking through Clemenceau, declared that inasmuch as Germany had made this unprovoked war, was wholly responsible for it, had been the cause of all the deaths resulting from it,

all the misery and suffering, she should not and would not be allowed to escape by a mere restoration of the territory she had invaded. They insisted and demanded reparation as well as restoration. And I ask the Senate and I ask the American people, Ought we to demand and insist upon that reparation? Is not the insistence by us upon such a demand a solemn duty which we owe to our allies? We who have scarcely gotten into this war little realize what our allies have been suffering for more than four years, the crimes committed against them in the name of war, the awful acts of brutality which they have had inflicted upon them. And now, when the tide of battle has just begun to turn in their favor, when they, with our assistance, are in a position to punish those who have so brutally maltreated them, can we and will we call a halt in our onward march? Can we allow diplomacy to weaken the avenging arm? No, Mr. President; I know the answer, the heart response of the American people and of this Senate, and that answer can be expressed in two words only—"unconditional surrender."

That resolution declares that before any armistice shall be considered the German Empire and its allies pledge themselves to pay in damages the cost of rebuilding and reconstructing cities and villages destroyed by their armies and to restore to fertility the fields devastated by them.

I am not in this declaration assuming that this country or the allies will compel the criminal who committed this awful act against humanity to pay the full cost of the war. Of course that in justice should be done, but we can not afford to enslave a people because of the crime of their aristocratic rulers. But most of this destruction was not the result of ordinary warfare. There was no occasion demanding that soldiers should set fire to the homes of the peasants; that they should cut down their orchards; that they should murder their people. As Germany retires from France and Belgium there is no military necessity demanding the destruction of every city abandoned by them. Such destruction does not and can not impede the march of our victorious armies. It is done not through the necessities of war but through the sentiment of malice and hate engendered, encouraged, and commanded by this autocratic militarism against which we are now battling.

And again I ask of the American people, of the Senate of the United States—yes, and of the President himself—the heart response as to whether this wanton destruction of property at least should be met and covered by indemnity?

Again, this resolution declares:

That the central powers must agree to repay every dollar and the value of all property exacted from the people of any territory invaded by them.

Mr. President, things have transpired so rapidly, new wrongs and atrocities have followed one upon the heels of the other so rapidly, that we are wont to forget, and I fear possibly our souls become so inured to these acts that we might fail to demand that which was in our hearts at the time, full recompense for the injuries inflicted. The central powers deported from conquered territory the entire able-bodied population of both sexes from the age of 16 to 60, except women with young children. While we were paying enormous wages, as were Great Britain and France, for labor the central powers enslaved and forced to work behind their lines from the population of Belgium 7,500,000, of France 3,000,000, of Serbia 4,500,000, of Roumania 5,000,000, of Poles and Lithuanians 22,000,000, or a total of 42,000,000 slaves.

The plunder of human beings, supplies and property, laborers, war materials, provisions, minerals, raw products, manufactured products, personal property, art objects, and specie during the four years has amounted to at least \$10,000,000,000.

Andre Cheredame, in his book *Pan Germany*, published at the close of the year 1917, gives the value of many items of property taken up to that time. I shall recite only a few of the more important ones.

Germans have taken possession of vast stores of raw materials in their descent upon France, Belgium, Serbia, and Roumania. Cannon, rifles, munitions, wagons, locomotives, cars, as well as thousands of kilometers of railway of which they make full use, representing billions of francs.

The Belgian railways system is worth three billions.

In France they stole all the horses, cattle, domestic animals, grain, potatoes, food products, meats, sugar, alcohol, and so forth.

They seized all the coal and iron ore, copper, petroleum, and so forth.

From the cities of northern France alone the Germans took 550,000,000 francs worth of hay. The plunder has been worth a number of billions to them.

Everywhere in the occupied territories they took motors, steam hammers, rolling mills, lathes, press drills, electrical engines, lamps, and so forth, and transported them to Germany.

They took private property of all character of the value of several billions and divided it among German officers.

The works of art taken by them are of enormous value.

War imposts:

Our official report shows that requisitions have everywhere been continuous. Towns that have had to meet the expense of troops quartered within their jurisdiction have been overwhelmed by huge levies. Belgium is staggering under an annual war assessment of 480,000,000 francs. Bucharest, after its capture by the Germans, was forced to pay a levy amounting to about 1,900 francs per capita of the population. At Craiova the levy was 950 francs per capita. An edict forbids the circulation of paper money unless it has been stamped by the Germans who retain 30 per cent of its nominal value.

In April, 1917, the Frankfurter Zeitung announced that the leaders of the Austro-German forces of occupation in Roumania would shortly call for an obligatory internal loan of 100,000,000 francs. In Poland the German Government has just issued a billion marks in paper money for enforced circulation.

As I have stated in another address, tribute upon the poor Belgians alone amounted to \$500 per capita. In the light of all that afflicted country has suffered, the savage destruction of everything within its borders, in most cases for no other purpose than to satisfy the lust of the invaders to terrorize the population, ought we not to demand and insist by every principle of honor and justice that the sums extorted, the property stolen, should be fully compensated for? And let it be remembered, Mr. President, that in the speech of January 8 there is not one word concerning this retribution for these offenses committed against these innocent, helpless people; there are words of restitution, but not a word of reparation.

Again this resolution reads:

That it (the German Government) will make proper compensation for every crime committed by its armies contrary to the laws of warfare and humanity whether on land or sea.

Mr. President, prior to our entering the war, the President of the United States on many occasions declared to the German Government that this Government would hold that Government to a strict accountability for any infringement of the laws of war affecting American ships, property, or lives. Have we forgotten the *Lusitania*? Was that vessel sunk contrary to the laws of war? Was the act of the demon who hid under the waves, sent the shot without notice, without according the right to surrender, which sent mothers with their babes to the bottom of the ocean, an act of honorable warfare or the act of a murderer? Shall we maintain the word which we sent to the German Government at that time, that we should hold her to a strict accountability? What is the sentiment of the President? What is the answer of this Senate? What is the answer of the American people? You and I know what it is.

And again let us recall that our allies who have, as the President has often declared, and as we all now recognize, been fighting our battle for about four years before we really got into the war, have suffered a hundred fold more than we have suffered. Shall we desert them or shall we stand with them in demanding the reparation for the wrongs committed against them? There can be but one answer to this question. The American people will stand with France and Great Britain, and Belgium and Serbia, until all of these wrongs have been righted.

Again this resolution declares that:

The central powers shall make proper compensation and allowance for their crimes committed by their armies, contrary to the laws of warfare and humanity, whether on land or sea.

But a few days ago an American liner was torpedoed. After its little guns were shot away so that it could not continue even that feeble defense against a deadly submarine, the commander of this submarine proceeded to shoot into fragments its lifeboats that no one on board should escape. He seized the only lifeboat with its 20 occupants that had escaped the shrapnel, tied it to the submarine, and in that spirit of hellishness which has seemed to actuate the heart of every submarine commander, the submarine submerged. The breaking of the cable alone saved the lives of these doomed men who were thereby enabled to convey this atrocious murder of their comrades to the American people. And this is done at the very moment that the central powers are extending their hand and crying for mercy. What mercy had they for these poor helpless victims? Will this country demand as a condition of an armistice, or as a condition of peace, that the German Government surrender this monster for court-martial trial? Can you, and will you, say to the mothers of those brave boys who were sent down to death without any opportunity of defense, who were not accorded a single right accorded to the most desperate enemy when he has surrendered—will you say to these mothers and to the American people, that this matter is of such little concern, such a small incident in this great warfare, that we will not take notice of it? I would ask the heart response of the members of this Senate and of the American people upon this declaration. And remember again, that while we have suffered an

occasion of this kind but once or twice, our allies have suffered it a hundred or a thousand times.

Shall we desert them in their just demands for retributive justice? Do you think that the captain of the U boat who, having destroyed a British merchant ship, proceeded to destroy all the lifeboats, then compelled the few remaining persons who were still alive to throw away their life preservers, and then submerged, sending all but one, I believe, to death—do you believe that that commander should continue to enjoy the sunshine and the blessings of life? Will you join the allies in the demand that this captain shall be surrendered and tried by a military court? Gen. Pershing reported that one of our American boys who had been captured was found with his head almost severed from his body, under evidence which showed a struggle, and that after his capture he had been most brutally butchered. Will you say to the American father who gave that son, There shall be no peace until these murderers pay the penalty of their crime against your boy? What is the response of Senators; what would be your response were it your own boy? What is the response of the American heart to this declaration?

Mr. President, there have been published in the New York Tribune each day accounts of a series of atrocities that have been established beyond any possible question, and which I wish to insert in an epitomized form, without reading them, as a part of this address.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHEPPARD in the chair), Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

NO. 1.

Near Mellen, Belgium, a woman was standing by the roadside with a babe in her arms, watching the Germans of the Thirty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Regiments marching some prisoners by. A German officer halted and asked for water. The woman brought the water and observed that he should be shot instead. The officer pulled his revolver and killed the woman and babe.

NO. 2.

The Thirty-fifth Regiment of Germans were on hands and knees, moving against Belgian trenches near Antwerp, behind a human screen of Belgian women and children. One woman turned and faced the Germans and refused to advance. The German creeping behind her gave her two bayonet thrusts, at the second one of which she fell. One of the children ran to her, and the German placed his gun to its head and blew it off. Then the Belgians, who had been unable to fire for fear of killing their own women and children, left the trenches and attacked with bayonet.

NO. 3.

A German patrol—6 men and 1 officer—with 40 civilian prisoners was marching near Malines, Belgium. The officer stopped and knocked at a door. No one came. He ordered the men to break in. The peasant appeared, and they shot him for not coming quickly. The wife came out with a child in her arms. She put the child down and sprang at the Germans. She clawed their faces. One soldier killed the woman by a tremendous blow, another transfixed the child with his bayonet, and held it up for the others to see. Then the house was fired.

NO. 4.

For some reason the Huns declared the village green in Tamines, Belgium, a sacred zone. One day on this green were 20 German soldiers and one officer. A little Belgian girl and her two brothers came trespassing. To those who witnessed the act it appeared the children were only looking at the soldiers. They may have been impudent or taunting. Nobody will ever know. Suddenly the Germans slew the children, all three. The little girl was shot through the ear.

NO. 5.

One September evening four years ago a Belgian air scout reported to the defenders of Malines that the Germans appeared to be advancing with children in front of them. It was true. There were about 10 children in front of them. They were from 7 to 9 years of age and reached to about the Germans' chests. The Germans were firing above their heads as they advanced.

NO. 6.

At Monceau, Belgium, the Germans burned 312 houses and shot a lot of the inhabitants. They entered a house, and seeing a young man run into the garden shot him in his tracks. Then they took the father and a second son into the garden. They shot the boy first and compelled the father to stand close to his son, and shot the father in that position.

NO. 7.

Four years ago at Malines, Germans suffered first temporary defeat. Belgian soldiers saw one house not burned like the others and investigated. On the floor were the dead bodies of a man, a woman, a boy, and a girl, all with feet and hands cut off. One of the Belgian soldiers who forced the door was surviving son and brother. He went mad at the sight, seized a gun and a horse, and rushed off in the direction of the German Army. He was never seen again.

NO. 8.

Four years ago, on September 8, the English shelled Basseville, Belgium. Huns temporarily repulsed visited their vengeance on the helpless. On entering the village the British found in one house an old man by the fireside strangled, an old woman in a bedroom strangled, and a young girl about 17 in the yard strangled.

NO. 9.

At Campenhaut, three German cavalrymen entered the house of a well-to-do merchant who was known to have a good wine cellar. Having drunk 10 bottles of champagne they called in six more officers. Then one officer called for the society of the merchant's wife. She came, and he put his revolver to her temple and shot her dead; then told the merchant to dig a grave and bury his wife.

NO. 10.

In August, 1914, the Germans marched through Herve to Liege. A German officer in a motor car with several soldiers called to two young men, who, being frightened, started to run. They were shot in their tracks. On August 8 the Germans were stopped at Fléron by one of the Liege forts. Enraged at this, they returned to Herve for revenge. They burned 327 houses in two days and fired indiscriminately on civilians at the doors. Shot one woman at close range, although she had a crucifix in her hands and was begging for mercy.

NO. 11.

Between Flemalle Grande and Jemepepe in Belgium is an inn called Campagne de Flemalle. Fourteen Germans placed four men and one woman against a wall and then shot the four men. They did not shoot the woman. She cried and fell on her knees, begging for mercy. The four men were not quite dead, so the Germans finished their work with bayonets.

NO. 12.

Herod's massacre of all male children in Bethlehem 2 years old and under was with a purpose that could be understood. The slaughter of Belgian children by Germans was worse. Civilian prisoners were compelled to march with the Huns out of Malines. Near Sempst they passed a small farm homestead burning. Close by the road stood a woman with two children. As the Germans passed they drove their bayonets through the children. (Bryce report, appendix, p. 110.) "The two children," says the testimony, "were pitched into the flames by the soldiers who killed them; they tossed them in with their bayonets. It was a different soldier who killed each child."

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, we have read of the deportation of women and girls of France into Germany and of their abuse by the cruel military masters, and then when broken down in health and no longer able to work that they are returned to be a charge on the French Government. Let me cite here but one instance. There was returned only the other day a woman who testified that during the nearly four years she had been a prisoner she had been compelled to become the mother of three children. Two were boys, and they were kept. The third, a frail little girl, was sent back to France with the health-broken mother.

Senators, this may seem to be far away, but it is right at home in France; and this is but one case out of tens of thousands. Will we insist for France that those who have committed this crime against the daughter of some French mother, possibly whose husband has died for his native land, shall pay the penalty of that crime?

Now these, Mr. President, are things which I say the central powers may well say to be outside of, and not included within the clear terms of the President's declaration of January 8 and subsequent declarations. The question with us is, Should we make peace without those additional terms? Should we declare an armistice until we are in a position to enforce those terms? Is there any man in the whole United States with a soul, with a human heart, who does not feel that all of these are most righteous demands, demands which if surrendered would be a blot on our own sense of justice and humanity?

What I fear, Mr. President, is that taking this speech of January 8, 1918, as the basis of negotiation, the central powers expect that, except as to matters clearly indicated by that speech, to escape without further punishment across their own borders which have not been scarred anywhere by this awful war. I first ask myself, Can we in honor say this will be the extent of our terms? If I remember rightly the President in one of his speeches, which I do not now recall by date, declared in substance that the same principles of right and wrong which govern individuals in their relations with each other must henceforth govern nations in their relation to each other. With that I am in most hearty accord. But how are we to inaugurate such a system if we impliedly say to the world in our peace proposals that the nation which commits murder shall in no way be held in punitive damages for that murder? Let us present a parallel case. Your neighbor for years has been secretly preparing to rob you of your property, to murder you and your family. He has inculcated in the hearts of his own family the principle that force alone should govern this world. He has inculcated in their hearts hatred toward you. He has been preparing and waiting for an opportunity to carry his murderous purpose into effect. The opportune time comes. He knows you are not prepared to defend yourselves. Without a word of warning he fires your buildings. He forces himself into your home. You and your unarmed children defend yourselves with the best improvised weapons you can command. Being prepared he inflicts terrible punishment upon you. You see your children brained by this monster of hate, your wife murdered before your eyes. You see your innocent and helpless babe with a bayonet thrust through its breast. You battle on in desperation and resolve to avenge their deaths or die in the attempt. Your enemy begins to show signs of exhaustion. In the strength of your right, you find yourself at last able to meet him on something like equal terms. He feels his own waning strength. He reads vengeance in your eyes, victory in your raining blows. He must now depend upon his cunning to save his life. He pro-

poses an armistice. He says to you: Do not battle further, and I will retreat and go back to my own home, and you and I will sit down together and we will enter into an agreement whereby there shall be henceforth peace between us. Let me ask you as a normal human being, what would be your response? Would you take his bloody hand, dripping with the life current of wife and babe, in yours, or would you continue that battle until he was mauled into submission? I know what your answer would be.

Now, this is just exactly what has transpired in Europe, except that nations and not individuals are engaged in that drama. The Central Powers were ready. They had schemed for 40 years the destruction of their neighbors. They had robbed France of two of her Provinces in 1871, and made her pay in damages for the privilege of being robbed. With the memory of the seizure of Silesia from Austria, of Schleswig from Denmark, of Alsace-Lorraine from France, the time had come for the conquest of Belgium, the domination of Serbia and Roumania, the great Mitteleuropan military power, the destruction of Great Britain, and the defiance of the world, and those powers struck the blow on land and sea. They struck it against nations wholly unprepared, at France first, and then Great Britain who, as I have heretofore stated, fought for two years with one hand while preparing for war with the other hand.

No act has been too atrocious to be eliminated from their mode of operation. They expected to win by terrorism. But a righteous and indignant people, though fewer in numbers, held them back until this great Nation, tardy of action, slow in preparation, came into the conflict on their side. We know what would have been the result had they succeeded—an enslaved world, buffeted and kicked and abused by the most despotic militarism the world has ever known. Their arrogance did not leave the world in doubt as to their purpose. They had even declared it long before the blow was struck. A confiding world could not believe that such an atrocious purpose could be possible. Let me read to you the terms the Central Powers had decided upon when their initial success in the great onslaught of March 21, 1918, gave them a brief but signal success. These were the terms:

Germany is entitled to the following terms because of its strength, and until they are realized there should be no armistice:

- Annexation of Belgium.
- Annexation of the entire Flanders coast, including Calais.
- Annexation of the Brie and Longwy basins and the Toul, Belford, and Verdun regions eastward.
- Restitution to Germany of all her colonies, including Kiaochow.
- Great Britain must cede to Germany such naval bases and coaling stations as Germany designates.
- Great Britain must give Gibraltar to Spain, cede its war fleet to Germany, give Egypt and the Suez Canal to Turkey.
- Greece must be reestablished under former King Constantine, with frontiers as before the war.
- Austria and Bulgaria will divide Serbia and Montenegro.
- Great Britain, France, and the United States must pay all of Germany's war costs, the indemnity being a minimum of \$45,000,000,000.
- They must also agree to deliver raw materials immediately.
- France and Belgium must remain occupied at their expense until these conditions are carried out.

This is what Germany would have imposed upon the world had she succeeded in her most accursed war.

In the face of these demands by those who had made this criminal war against the peaceful nations of the world, in the face of the condition in which we would be placed had this great Mitteleuropa propaganda been successful, let me ask Senators, let me ask the American people, yes, let me ask the President himself, if we are not committing a grave injustice to the American people and to our brave allies if we say to these central powers that upon the surrender of Alsace and Lorraine, which do not belong to you; upon the retrocession of the territory invaded by you; and upon the agreement to cede certain territories in the Balkans we will allow you to return to your own home and will make no further demand upon you than that you will agree with us that you will not again commit such an offense? Are we not clasping the blood-guilty hand of the worst criminal the world has ever known? Are we not dishonoring our own cause by failing to insist that before we will speak one word of peace to these powers we must bind their arms and insist that before they can expiate their crime they must respond in damages at least to the extent of compensating for those things which are outside the pale of recognized and honorable warfare? I insist that the nations engaged in the defense of the world against this ogre of militarism is committing a crime against its own people, an offense against its own cause, if it fails to exact this partial justice from our enemies.

Coming now to the present aspect of the case upon the exchange of notes between this country and the Berlin Government, what will the German Government lose if this war is continued

until her armies are defeated? Mr. President, she will, first, lose the Provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. They will be returned to France, and returned unconditionally.

Second, she will lose her navy, because she can not be left with arms to renew this war.

Third, she will be compelled to pay for the wanton destruction of cities and villages and for her devastation of lands and homes.

Fourth, she will be compelled to return every dollar exacted as tribute and the value of every article which she took from people of municipalities in conquered territory and for every murder or enslavement committed by her contrary to the laws of modern warfare.

Fifth, she will be compelled to pay for every merchant ship and property therein sunk contrary to the recognized rules of warfare, and make allowance for the families of those whom she has murdered contrary to such laws.

Sixth, she will be compelled to surrender those military beasts who have perpetrated these crimes against helpless men, women, and babes.

Seventh, she will be forced to witness the dethronement of her Hohenzollern dynasty.

Eighth, she will be compelled to surrender important strategic positions to the allies until all agreements have been fulfilled.

Ninth, she would probably see the collapse of the great structure built up by the Iron Chancellor Bismarck. Bavaria, at least, would probably become an independent nation.

And right here I might ask if there is a single one of those terms that ought not in justice to be imposed? Has not this military autocracy earned, and more than earned, this mild penalty, when viewed in the light of the awful crime it has committed against the world in making this war, the monstrous purposes it had in view, and what punishment it would have inflicted on its enemies had it been victorious?

Now, what does the German Government expect to gain by the acceptance of the principles laid down by the President in his January 8 address and in his subsequent utterances? And this is a most important fact for the Senate to consider. Remember that these are all the German Government has agreed to accept, either in principle or in detail.

First, it expects to save the Hohenzollern dynasty and with it the military autocracy of Germany, the root from which it may again grow the deadly Upas tree of German militarism. I know many of those in this Chamber say we have nothing to do with the question of who shall govern or how the German people shall be governed. Mr. President, if that is none of our business, then this war is none of our business. Whatever may have been the particular cause which forced us into this conflict, once being in it, we accepted its full issue and full responsibility, and that issue was a world issue. In the words of our President it was a war "to make the world safe for democracy," and the world will never be safe for democracy nor safe for any unmilitary nation as long as the present governmental system of Germany, with its standard of force and brutality, is allowed to continue.

Therefore, Mr. President, we declare that it is our business as to what kind of a government shall be continued in Germany, whether it shall be a military government or a peacefully inclined government.

I was most gratified when the President, in his speech of September 27, declared:

We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the Governments of the central empires, because we have dealt with them already and have seen them deal with other Governments that were parties to this struggle at Brest-Litovsk, and Bucharest. They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We can not come to terms with them. They have made it impossible.

And, again, in his Baltimore speech, when he says:

There is, therefore, but one response from us—force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish domination down in the dust.

I am still hoping that the President has not backed down one inch from that position. Of course, he knows, as we all know, that the spokesman of the German Government is Kaiser made. The meeting which accepted the terms referred to in the last reply of the German Government was a meeting of the petty sovereigns of the different States composing the Empire, not one of them elected by the people and every one of them representing the military idea of force and plunder.

I have heard it rumored that pressure has been made upon our President to recede from this position. It has even been stated to me that an American ambassador to one of our allies has written to the President suggesting that it would be necessary for him sooner or later to recede from that position; that in the end he would have to deal with the present German Gov-

ernment which forced this war, as the German people would not repudiate their self-deified rulers, and even urged the President to consider peace proposals by negotiation.

Second, the German Government, by accepting as a basis for peace the President's said speech, hopes to retain Alsace and Lorraine by according to those Provinces certain autonomous rights. The President declared in his address of January 8 as follows:

All French territory should be free and the invaded portions restored and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly 50 years, should be righted in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

But the President does not say how this wrong shall be righted. I have not the fear, as some have, that the President will ever accept anything less than the absolute return to France of those Provinces, torn from her by force, and the repayment of the indemnity exacted at that time. How else could these wrong be fully righted? But this return is not declared definitely, and, of course, if we enter into any discussion with the central powers, they will claim that their proposed autonomy for these Provinces will meet the President's demand.

Third, the German Government expects by accepting these proposals to avoid any and all other responsibility for its wrongs and atrocities. And, Mr. President, this fear of retributive justice is by far the most important reason for accepting the President's suggestions at this time. The German Government, in the face of a sure defeat, sees its haven of refuge in the President's mild proposals. It sees in those proposals not one word of reparation for wrongs, not one word about indemnities for atrocities committed. You will note the rather cunning inquiry or supposition contained in this last reply of the German Government, in which they say:

The German Government believes that the Governments of the powers associated with the Government of the United States also take the position taken by President Wilson in his address.

That means that they take no further position; that they make no further demands.

Now, as a matter of fact, the German Government well knows that these addresses of the President of the United States do not comprehend the limit of the demand by other powers. Lloyd George and preceding British premiers, as well as Clemenceau, have declared again and again that no peace will be considered until the Central Powers are ready to make reparation. And, Mr. President, if either the United States or France or Great Britain concludes a peace without righting these wrongs they will have wronged and deeply wronged the brave soldiers who have died for world justice as well as those who have been murdered through hate.

The moment the allies near German territory an awful fear comes over the people. "Save us from invasion" is their wild cry. And why? Because, Mr. President, they say, "The invaders will come with their hearts filled with the atrocities and brutalities committed by our armies against them. They will burn our cities as we have burned theirs. They will maltreat and murder German prisoners as we have maltreated and murdered their prisoners. They will drive the bayonet through the tender bodies of our babes as our soldiers have done in Belgium and as our allies have done in Roumania and Serbia. Surrender or do anything that will save us from this retributive justice."

Mr. President, this is a battle to the death between the doctrinaires of force and the advocates of right. Both can not survive, one or the other must fall. If the autocratic militarism of the Central Powers is ever to be defeated, now is the opportune moment. For it might never again be possible to so unite the weak against the strong, the unprepared against the prepared.

At this critical moment there can be but one safe reply to the plea of this military autocracy for a respite—that reply is, Unconditional surrender. There can be but one place to discuss and formulate terms of peace—that place is Berlin.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, when the Senate met this morning I asked and obtained unanimous consent to introduce a resolution (S. Res. 314). That resolution was read, and I have no intention of asking that any disposition be made of it until the Senate shall again convene. The resolution was prepared with some care, although I introduced it with a view that it might not entirely represent the existing situation, and, therefore, might be aptly subject to amendment. The purpose which I had in mind was to clarify, if possible, what seems to be a misunderstanding in some quarters, both in Congress and among the people, of the character and extent of the President's frequently announced program of peace.

I have noted, Mr. President, with some regret, both in the discussions here and in the comments of the press, what seems to

me to be a distinct note of distrust either of the President's courage or of his purposes; a feeling that unless the Senate and perhaps the press generally, to say nothing of the vast body of the people, shall announce their views regarding the pending diplomatic situation, the President will commit the Nation to a policy which does not represent the public opinion of the country, and which will also prove to be a distinct disappointment to our allies. I am sorry to observe the existence of such a feeling, for I do not believe that there is any occasion for it, and because, unfortunately, it is too apt to justify the impression that political considerations have much to do with the discussion.

I have no right, Mr. President, to speak for the President of the United States or for anyone except myself on this occasion, and, therefore, by way of preliminary, I wish to emphasize the fact that this resolution is an attempted embodiment of my own view of the President's attitude on the terms of peace. If I am correct about it, then there is nothing in any position taken by the President, either in the formulation of a program of peace or in his comments upon it, that need give anyone but Germany and her allies any serious cause of apprehension.

The President of the United States, by the fortunes of war, has become the spokesman of all the world, except the central empires. As one writer aptly expresses it, he has advanced to leadership through the anguish of the Nation, and right well, Mr. President, has he discharged the duties of that lofty and most exalted position. He has spoken many times since America entered this war, and what he has said on all occasions has been apt, has expressed the sentiment not only of America, but of the allies, and has received the almost unanimous approval of the public sentiment of the people of all the allied nations. He has never spoken impulsively nor without due consideration of the tremendous import which every word uttered by such a man must convey. I, therefore, assume, Mr. President, because I believe it to be a fact, that when he speaks, he speaks not only for but with the allies; that when he speaks, he voices the conclusions to which all the allies have previously given their assent; and that he has never committed himself to any line of policy since this war began, unless and until that line of policy has been communicated to our associates in this war and has received their approbation.

Mr. President, I base that statement upon the unbroken tide of applause and approval which has greeted every utterance of the President since the 1st day of January, 1918. I refer to that date because every utterance of his regarding a program of peace has been made since then.

If I am correct, Mr. President, in my assumption, then it must follow that the celebrated 14 items or bases of a permanent and lasting peace promulgated by him before the Congress on the 8th day of January last, and his subsequent references to that subject, are the collective thought and expression of every nation engaged in this war on the side of the entente allies; that it is not only the American idea of peace but the allied idea of peace; that it is American, because we are in this war with other nations; that it is allied, because a common spokesman announces a common sentiment.

Mr. President, we should also remember in our consideration of the President's attitude and of his recent actions that he knows world conditions and everything relating to this war far better than we do. It is his duty to be informed, as it is the duty of his associates to see that he is informed. He, therefore, speaks from an abundance of information to which we can not at present lay claim; and, while he may say some things which do not at first meet with our entire approval, we may be sure that they are not impulsive or careless utterances, for they are the utterances of a man at present charged with great responsibility. If this were not so, more than one note of disapprobation would have reached us from Great Britain, from France, from Italy, or perhaps from all these nations combined; yet I do not recall, Mr. President, the utterance or announcement of any such discordant view.

On the 6th day of October an incident occurred which placed upon the shoulders of the President the most imposing duty and the most far-reaching responsibility which, in my judgment, was ever borne by mortal man. I have reference to the note of the German chancellor which, communicated by the representative of the Swiss Government, informed the President of a request by the German Government that he take in hand the restoration of peace, acquaint all the belligerent States of this request, and invite them to send plenipotentiaries for the purpose of opening negotiations. The German Government also informed the President of its acceptance of the program set forth by him in his message to the Congress on January 8 and in his later pronouncements, especially his speech of September 27, as a basis for peace negotiations. There is a vast differ-

ence, Mr. President, between the acceptance of pronouncements as a basis for peace and the acceptance of those pronouncements as a basis for negotiations leading to peace.

But the German Government went further, and, "with a view of avoiding further bloodshed," it requested "the immediate conclusion of an armistice on land and water and in the air." Let me note here, Mr. President, that it is Germany, and Germany alone, which has requested or suggested an armistice. The President has suggested no armistice; and, of course, neither he nor the allies have ever requested one.

This note addressed to the President of the United States by the head of the German Government could not, in my judgment, be ignored. Some seem to think that the President should have treated it as he treated the Austrian request of a few days previous, and that there is some inconsistency between his terse rejection of the Austrian note and the manner of his inquiry regarding this one; but, Mr. President, there is no parallel. Austria, in a most involved communication, seemed to request a conference which would be unbinding upon anyone and whose purpose would be to discuss terms of peace.

The President very properly pointed to the terms which had been clearly announced more than once and declined all further reference to the subject. This, however, asks for an armistice pending negotiations of peace based upon the President's own request.

Now, bearing in mind, Mr. President, what I believe to be the fact, that this communication was sent to our associates in this war, as Prince Maximilian requested, and bearing in mind the necessity of mutual action, not only with regard to the details of the progress of the war but particularly with regard to the immensely more important subject of peace, it was communicated to the allies either through their ministers here or through our ministers at their respective capitals, and no reply was made to it until a complete and satisfactory understanding regarding the character of that reply had been arrived at.

The President on the 27th day of September, I think, in laying down what may be called supplemental terms of peace also took occasion to use this language. The Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN] put it in the RECORD the other day, but it is appropriate that I should again read it:

We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the Governments of the central empires, because we have dealt with them already and have seen them deal with other Governments that were parties to this struggle at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest.

They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We can not come to terms with them. They have made it impossible.

No weightier words ever fell from the lips of our Chief Executive. But he continues:

The German people must by this time be fully aware that we can not accept the word of those who forced this war upon us. We do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language of agreement.

Having therefore a suggestion from the German Government, a government which the President had a few days before declared to be wholly untrustworthy and treacherous, what reply could the President make except it were an inquiry regarding the character of the government making the request and also regarding the suggested armistice? It was the most natural thing, therefore, and I think the most shrewdly diplomatic course that could possibly have been taken that the President answered as follows:

Before making reply to the request of the Imperial German Government, and in order that that reply shall be as candid and straightforward as the momentous interests involved require, the President of the United States deems it necessary to assure himself of the exact meaning of the note of the imperial chancellor. Does the imperial chancellor mean that the Imperial German Government accepts the terms laid down by the President in his address to the Congress of the United States on the 8th of January last and in subsequent address and that its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon the practical details of their application?

This was made necessary in my opinion because the note itself, as I have already said, asked the President to request and invite all the belligerent States to send plenipotentiaries for the purpose of opening negotiations and for using the President's propositions as a basis for such negotiations. But in view of the fact that the German chancellor had also suggested an armistice the President continues:

The President feels bound to say with regard to the suggestion of an armistice that he would not feel at liberty to propose a cessation of arms to the governments with which the Government of the United States is associated against the central powers so long as the armies of those powers are upon their soil.

This is unmistakable.

The good faith of any discussion would manifestly depend upon the consent of the central powers immediately to withdraw their forces everywhere from invaded territory.

The President also feels that he is justified in asking whether the imperial chancellor is speaking merely for the constituted authorities of the empire who have so far conducted the war. He deems the answers to these questions vital from every point of view.

Mr. President, I think there is but one historical instance where the asking of questions was so fraught with momentous consequences as this. I refer, of course, to the celebrated queries propounded by Mr. Lincoln to Mr. Douglas during their celebrated debate two years before the Civil War. Mr. Lincoln during that debate was questioned by Mr. Douglas and with characteristic candor he answered every one of them plainly, and then propounded four of his own. I will read the second and most important of them:

Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution?

It is said that Mr. Lincoln's friends attempted to dissuade him from asking that question as well as the others, fearing that as a consequence he would be defeated in the senatorial race then pending. Mr. Lincoln's reply was that he was after larger results than the senatorship, that his adversary might answer those questions so as to succeed himself in the Senate, but if he did so he would destroy forever his chances of being President of the United States, and if he answered them for the latter purpose then he was doomed in the existing race for Senator. So, Mr. President, it resulted. Mr. Douglas saved himself in the senatorial race but wrecked himself and his party in the far greater and more important presidential campaign of 1860.

Mr. President, an answer has come to the queries to which I have just referred. It will be noticed with what hot haste it was announced that upon the receipt of the President's queries a gathering of kings was ordered in Berlin. They came from the four quarters of Germany at the behest of the Kaiser himself to answer two simple questions propounded by a plain President of a democratic Republic, hitherto regarded with supreme contempt by their majesties and whose armies were declared to be of little power or consequence. But these kings in their assembled capacity or otherwise did not answer the President's query. That proceeded from the German Government, and attention has already been called to the fact that the word "Imperial" no longer appears in official German communications. It did not appear in the note of Prince Max. It does not appear in this. The German Government itself declares:

The German Government has accepted the terms laid down by President Wilson in his address of January 8 and in his subsequent addresses on the foundation of a permanent peace of justice. Consequently its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon practical details of the application of these terms.

This, Mr. President, commits Germany, not the Kaiser. It has committed Germany to the President's peace program. Whatever the immediate result of this note may be, it spells for all time the defeat of a German peace; for there can be no German peace without a repudiation of this note, and there can be no repudiation of the note without domestic disaster to Germany herself.

But that is not the President's greatest triumph. It says:

The German Government believes that the governments of the powers associated with the Government of the United States also take the position taken by President Wilson in his address. The German Government, in accordance with the Austro-Hungarian Government, for the purpose of bringing about an armistice, declares itself ready to comply with the propositions of the President in regard to evacuation.

The German Government suggests that the President may occasion the meeting of a mixed commission for making the necessary arrangements concerning the evacuation. The present German Government, which has undertaken the responsibility for this step toward peace, has been formed by conferences and in agreement with the great majority of the reichstag. The chancellor, supported in all of his actions by the will of this majority, speaks in the name of the German Government and of the German people.

Berlin, October 12, 1918.

(Signed) **SOLE,**
State Secretary of Foreign Office.

In all the history of the Hohenzollerns, Mr. President, no such document as this was even sent from their capital to a foreign country. Only during the dark days for them of 1848 was such language tolerated anywhere. In answering this question, therefore, the President has driven his diplomatic dagger straight into the heart of the Hohenzollern dynasty. It is the beginning of the end for them, because he has forced that Government, whatever it may be, out into the open, in so far as to make it declare that it has consulted with the representatives of the German people and speaks in its name, and no reference to the Kaiser exists here in any particular.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President—

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WADSWORTH. May I ask the Senator from Colorado if he has complete faith in the description of the German Government of its own status?

Mr. THOMAS. I think it might and probably is open to serious doubt; but, assuming the authenticity of this note, the voice to the world is a voice which German people have also heard. And in this age of democracy, at a time when the issue is a deadly one between autocracy and democracy, the sincerity of the German Government in making this declaration is in my mind secondary to the vast importance of the declaration itself.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I did not intend to pursue the interview, but merely to remark that the Senator from Colorado is more optimistic than I am.

Mr. THOMAS. I am seldom accused of optimism, on the contrary I am sometimes the source of great depression to my friends because of the somewhat darker and more somber view that I take. In this instance, if I am optimistic I am decidedly glad to know that for once in the world I am taking a brighter view of things than perhaps is the common one of my friends on the other side.

Mr. President, the weakest part of this note as regards its last phrase lies in its coupling of the German Government with the German people. The President has declared that he has no confidence in and can have none and will not treat with the German Government if that Government is still under the control in part of the junker forces of Prussia. If it still represents, as I am inclined to think it does represent, the reactionary forces of the German Empire then the question of the President has been answered, but not in such a way as to permit him to accept the good faith of that Government and consider any question of negotiation at all.

Moreover, Mr. President, the German Government, whatever it may be, does not in this note comply with the unquestioned and positive suggestion of the President, which declares that no armistice can be considered until the evacuation is an accomplished fact. On the contrary, for the purpose of bringing about an armistice it declares itself ready to comply with the proposition of the President in regard to evacuation, the German Government suggesting that the President make known the meeting of a mixed commission for making the necessary arrangements concerning the evacuation. That is no answer. The President says virtually, "Get off the soil of the allies before you can expect me to submit a question of an armistice to the allied powers." That is a condition precedent which Germany does not meet, and not having met it betrays the fact and is not ready to accept any suggestion covering completely the position and the attitude occupied by the President and by the allies with regard to the fundamental conditions of a suspension of hostilities.

Mr. President, here is a dispatch of October 12, published in yesterday's papers:

LONDON, October 12.

The ministers of the allied Governments, says the Express, have discussed the German peace overtures and agreed upon a line of common action. The British, French, and Italian ministers first conferred and reached a decision, after which the British and French cabinets confirmed the conclusions.

Does anyone doubt, if that be so, but that the President is fully informed as to what those conclusions are? Does anyone question but that those conclusions and his own are identical; and can anyone therefore doubt that the action to be taken very soon by the President of the United States with regard to this note will be eminently satisfactory to all the allies and therefore to ourselves? Mr. President, I know in my inmost heart that the man at the head of the affairs of this great Government is as much concerned in the making of such a peace as will be permanent, such a peace as will accord with victory and the supremacy of democratic institutions, as any man in the country in or out of this Chamber. Nay, more, Mr. President, the responsibility being his, his concern in that regard is infinitely greater. He needs support, encouragement, confidence to-day more than a President of the United States ever needed these influences from every man, woman, and child in these United States. I think that he has them. I believe that he deserves them. I am sure that when his reply comes he will vindicate them.

I was asked this morning by an eminent Senator why, in the resolution which I offered, no reference was made to Turkey. I think the answer is obvious. We are not at war with Turkey. Turkey is not at war with us. Turkey is not included except inferentially in the letter sent to the President and published yesterday morning. The Austrian Government doubtless is, although the name of that Government does not appear in the note. The allies will deal with Turkey. The voice of the United States when that time comes may be potential—it certainly will have it influence—but I do not conceive it proper to make any mention in a resolution like this of any country with which we are not actually engaged in war. We have to deal with the two central empires, and those only. Our allies

have to deal with the central empires, Bulgaria, and Turkey. A common peace, Mr. President, may and should include them all, but the terms of peace between Turkey and the nations with which she is at war must be dictated and determined by those nations alone, our good offices being extended, of course, whenever they may be requested.

I have no question, Mr. President, but that the many telegrams and the many addresses to which we have listened since the 6th day of October correctly voice the sentiment of the American people. This war, the greatest and most destructive and most causeless of all the wars of history, has levied its bloody toll upon every nation engaged in it. Ours, the greatest Nation in the world, with unlimited resources, has, since its entry into the great tragedy, given most freely of its men and of its means. Its only purpose has been and is to vindicate its own institutions, maintain its own honor, and do its part in the salvation of the human race and the preservation of its civilization.

To surrender now to Germany, even indirectly or partially, would probably prove a tragedy, because it might prove to be nothing but a truce. We do not want any more wars that will come to plague our posterity if we can avoid it. That they will come in spite of all we can do I verily believe, because human nature is the same throughout the centuries, but that they may be minimized and made as rare as possible will be worth all the blood and all the treasure that we have poured out and will continue to pour out in our own cause and that of our allies.

Of this I feel sure that the President is as earnestly convinced as any man can be; I know that in his declaration as a basis for peace he has kept in mind the terms of the allies, which, tersely stated, consist of reparation, restitution, and indemnity. There is nothing in his own utterances upon the subject which do otherwise than supplement the utterances of our allies. Peace must come with the complete subjugation of Germany, and that will come, Mr. President, by refusing to treat with any Government representing indirectly the influences which made this war possible. To do less would be to do injustice to ourselves and a graver injustice to posterity. The price which has been paid and which is being paid, that free institutions may prevail and individuals and individual nations live without oppression, must continue until that end is reached, whatever the cost.

This sentiment, Mr. President, was well expressed in a little verse written by a soldier who paid for his devotion to liberty the penalty of his life upon the succeeding day:

In Flanders fields the poppies grow,
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; while in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Unheard amid the guns.

We are the dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunsets glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe,
To you from falling hands we throw
The torch. Be yours to bear it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies blow
In Flanders fields.

We shall break faith, Mr. President, neither with our soldier dead, with our allies, nor with the great principles for the vindication of which we entered this war.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I was unable to be present during all the debate this morning. I have secured a copy of some of the speeches that have been made, and I wish to read from the speech of the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED]. He speaks with great emphasis and with great clearness. While I do not always agree with him, I am very glad to find that I fully indorse the entire speech which he made this morning. I am going to comment upon that speech, and I wish to say now that I deem myself fortunate to be considered as one of his friends. He is Missouri's gifted and brilliant son. I repeat, while I have not always agreed with him—indeed, have very frequently disagreed with him—his views command not only the respect of the Senate but the respect of all other thinking people. Reading from his speech of this morning, on page 153 of the manuscript, he says:

I have not been a worshiper of the President, for I worship no man; but I honor the President; I have always honored him. I respect him as a man and I highly honor him as the Chief Executive of this great Nation; but I have never been a truckler, a cringer, or one who goes at his heels. However, in this hour I stand here to say that Congress can make no greater mistake, the Senate can make no more tragic blunder, than to give the country to understand that Woodrow Wilson proposes to fritter away the fruits of this war. I do not believe it; I can find nothing in my heart and nothing in his conduct to warrant such a thought.

Mr. President, "apples of gold in pictures of silver." I would that I had the power and the gift of expression to say as succinctly and as clearly what Missouri's eloquent son said this morning.

If a stranger should have walked into the Senate galleries, Mr. President, during the proceedings this morning, or during our last session, and he should without any previous information on the subject have heard only the debate here, he would imagine that Woodrow Wilson has done all those things which the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] some weeks ago said that Mr. Buchanan did. If a stranger, with no previous information upon these questions, should sit in the Senate gallery that stranger would be led to believe that the President of the United States was now on the very verge of committing the most colossal blunder of all human history. That stranger, if he possessed no information upon the subject and judged only from and by the debate, would be led to believe that all the strategic advantages which our victorious and valorous Army has achieved and all the advantages which the soldiers of the allies have achieved were about to be frittered away by some thoughtless, heedless, careless man who is now Chief Executive of the United States.

Mr. President, the Senate has a great function to perform. In speaking the other day I said I was glad to see the Senate express opinions. I think the truth is that we do not express opinions enough on these great questions. But how can we assist the Chief Executive in the prosecution of this war by these dolorous utterances, by these tones so like lamentations, by these forebodings of disaster, by these anticipations of betrayal, as it almost were, charged up against the Chief Executive? When did the Chief Executive of this Nation betray a trust? Where do you get any information or any suggestion that he is about to be weak-handed in this great hour of victory? One Senator this morning said that right now in the hour of victory the fruits were about to be dashed from the lips of the allies.

Mr. President, I am not venturing to assume the rather dubious rôle of a prophet, but I know enough about the affairs of men, and I believe I know enough about the affairs of governments, to realize that when the answer of Woodrow Wilson is made it will ring out like a silver bell when struck by a steel hammer at midnight, and all of this rumor, and all of the lamentations, and all of the mournful things that we hear on the other side of the Chamber will be dissolved and dispelled, even as the mist and fog are dispelled by the bright sunlight that shines in the great southwest.

Mr. President, if Senators objected to the 14 terms laid down in the speech of the President to both Houses of Congress on January 8, why have they been so ominously silent until this very grave hour? If there was a mistake made when the President laid down his 14 principles, why did not then the Senate object? Why did it wait until this hour, the critical hour, I was about to say the most critical hour, in the history of the world, for I think I am not overstating the case when I say this is the most critical hour in the history of the world? Since Von Kluck, in 1914, began to drive his army, with irresistible force and deadly precision, straight against the heart of France, the situation has been perilous. From that very hour until a couple of months ago all civilization was in peril. Who was the steady President at that time? The same Woodrow Wilson. What was it that induced Congress to declare war? It was nothing less than the message of the President of the United States. Would the Sixty-fifth Congress have ever declared war had it not been for the message of the President delivered to both Houses of Congress on the 2d of April, 1917? Only the President could have shown Congress its duty.

Having induced this Congress to declare war, having led the people correctly, having by his commanding ability placed himself in the position where he is now not only the spokesman of our country but the spokesman of all of the allies as well, what has come over the spirit of the dreams of people and especially of Senators who now claim to see about to be played by the Chief Executive a betrayal of the world's civilization?

Mr. President, Senator after Senator has arisen and declared that the 14 terms were not sufficiently specific. I have no quarrel with any man who misinterprets or misunderstands a question. Some things seem plain to me that other Senators do not understand, and I confess that events and circumstances and deductions that other Senators make I do not see at all, but let us recur for a moment to the eighth subdivision of the terms laid down by the President in his speech of January 8 to both Houses of Congress:

8. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly 50 years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

"The wrong done France." What was the wrong done France? The tearing away of Alsace and Lorraine, those two gems, those two Provinces from France that belonged to her.

Again, Mr. President, what little reputation I have as a prophet, if indeed I have any, I am willing to stake here and now that when finally peace comes Alsace and Lorraine will belong not to Germany but will be restored to France, to which nation they justly belong.

Senators have expressed the fear that Belgium may not be restored. I wish to say that my view of the President's speech of January 8 is that Belgium must be restored and that compensation will be made to the Belgian people. How could Belgium be restored if proper and adequate compensation were not made to the Belgian people? Would the evacuation of Belgium be sufficient? Does anybody who indulges in the luxury of reflection pretend to say that a mere evacuation would be a restoration?

Not at all. Cities and towns destroyed should be rebuilt; and I believe—and I may have faith larger than that of other men—that under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson they will be rebuilt and the devastated portions will be restored, so far as human energy and German money can be made to restore them.

A note of fear has been sounded that an armistice might be granted. I am not a military man. The only place I ever drew a sword was at a raffle [laughter], and I know nothing about military affairs; but I do know that armistices are not made by presidents or kings. Here in this Chamber are men who have served in the Army. They know that an armistice is made by the generals in the field.

An armistice, if there be one, will be granted upon the suggestion of Marshal Foch, that brilliant, that resilient, that wonderful genius who has driven the Germans back; if an armistice is granted to the German brute it will be upon the suggestion of Marshal Haig, that sturdy Englishman who has stood as Wellington stood with the immortal squares at Waterloo; if an armistice is granted to the Germans it will be made after the request of Gen. Pershing. No President has ever taken the field. It was suggested, indeed, when St. Clair met with disaster in the Indian fighting in the West that if Washington had left the Capital and gone into the field the disaster would not have come; but I do not recall that any President—and the historians of the Senate will correct me if I am wrong—ever left his place to go into the field. I presume if Woodrow Wilson would go into the field he might have the power to ask, and, following precedent, might ask for or grant an armistice, if he saw fit; but I wish again to assure the Senate—and I am speaking for myself alone—that if an armistice is had it will be upon the suggestion and request of the generals who are in the field facing the shot and shell and who know whereof they speak.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, does the Senator not mean that it will be with the consent of Marshal Foch and not at the request of Marshal Foch? Surely the Senator does not mean that the marshal of France is going to ask for an armistice.

Mr. ASHURST. I thank the Senator for the interruption; he has corrected me, and I am very glad he has done so. What I meant to say was that if an armistice is granted, if an armistice is had, if the President directly or indirectly consents to one, it will, in my judgment, be because Marshal Foch and Marshal Haig and Gen. Pershing have suggested to him that, in their judgment, it would be proper to grant one. I thank the Senator for his correction.

Mr. President, it seems to me at this time that we ought not to prejudice the President. The distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] in very ornate and correct language portrayed the great burden that is now upon the Chief Executive. I think that any man, whatever his ambitions may have been and whatever his aspirations for the Presidency may have been, ought to be thankful to his star that he is not the President at this hour, and ought to hope that if he ever becomes President no such burden will be laid upon him as is laid upon this man Woodrow Wilson. Like the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED], I have not been the President's spokesman or his confidential friend. I have differed from him when I thought I was right in differing from him, and I shall continue to do so whenever my conscience and my judgment tell me I ought to do so; but I do believe it is not the best service we can render to our country by venturing continually and with tireless reiteration to repeat that we fear that the President is about to weaken his grasp, and that strategic advantages which our valorous armies have won are about to be frittered away by some ill-considered course of action on his part. I do not know what will be the next move either in the military or the

diplomatic world, but I believe that no thinking man, no just man, now believes that the President of the United States is going to say, either by written or spoken word, anything that will weaken the present happy and fortunate condition of our troops—fortunate and happy in so far as victory is concerned and in so far as their leadership is concerned. I do not believe that any man to-day believes that the President contemplates taking any action that would in any way chill the ardor or weaken the spirit of our Army in the field or our people at home whose sons are being sent to glorious sacrifice and whose money is being generously poured out into our common Treasury to pay the expenses of this great war.

Mr. President, another note which has been sounded and upon which the changes have been rung is that should an armistice be had some advantage will be taken of it. I wish to say, further, that it is a very happy thing for the people of the United States that I am not President, and I hope no such unhappiness will ever come to them, but I recognize a wise man when I see him, and I think President Wilson is wiser than I am. I would attempt, if I were President, unfortunately for the country, to leave a trail of blood and fire from the Rhine to Berlin. That might not be the best thing for the world. I do not think I am any more revengeful than any other man, but I might say a life for a life and a ship for a ship; I might say things that would not contribute to success and victory, to happiness, and to the peace of the world in the future. It is a very happy thing that neither I nor any other Member of the Senate to-day is President of the United States. It is a very fortunate circumstance for the peace of the world and for the success of our arms that the man who has a chin like the Plymouth Rock is President of the United States; it is a very fortunate circumstance that a man is President whom neither abuse, sarcasm, ridicule, speeches, oratory, nor anything else can move, except the sense of what he believes to be right and just.

The President in his letter of inquiry to the German Government suggested that no armistice could be had while the armies of the Teutonic powers were on invaded territory. Therefore some fearsome souls say that Germany might not be required to abandon and evacuate Russia because by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk Russia is no longer one of the allies. The President says, in paragraph 6 of his speech of January 8:

The evacuation of all Russian territory—

All Russian territory.

Senators seem to fear that the treaty of Bucharest might have the effect of taking Roumania out of the category or domain of an ally. Surely, if the President can not be trusted to see to it that Germany must evacuate all portions of all countries she has stolen and pillaged and ravished he can not be trusted to do anything.

As to Turkey, if I had my way, the Ottoman Turk, who has been a pest to civilization for more than a thousand years, would be put to the sword for his long list of crimes. It will be borne in mind, as has been stated, that we are not at war with Turkey. The Turks are shooting our soldiers, however, and, although we are not legally at war with Turkey, we may be technically at war with her; but the President, in paragraph 12 of his speech of January 8, said:

12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty. But the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development. And the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guaranties.

So Senators may give their perturbed spirits rest. Turkish power in Europe will be broken.

Mr. President, if the stranger I mentioned a few moments ago, having no previous information upon the subject, should sit in the Senate gallery, he would think that he was looking on the Senate of 1861 to 1865, which was in opposition to Abraham Lincoln. I wish to say—and I have the books here to prove it—that during a part of the War of 1861 to 1865 there was a time when there was only one Senator of the United States who had the slightest confidence in Abraham Lincoln. He was wiser than they were; they were going to win the war with their mouths, and were always indulging in evil forebodings as to what baleful thing Lincoln was about. I am sure that if Gen. Grant had failed to capture Vicksburg—and the only friend Gen. Grant had in June, 1863, was Lincoln—not only would Grant have been removed, but President Lincoln would have been impeached and a dictatorship would have been set up to run the Government for the remainder of the war. That is history.

Why, if a stranger, without any previous information, had walked into the gallery this morning and listened to the lamentations of these modern Jeremiahs, the stranger would think that he was in the Continental Congress, with the galleries open,

and Conway and his cabal and Gates and his adherents were hamstringing, abusing, and making the pathway hard for George Washington. Washington won in spite of the Continental Congress, Madison won in spite of the Blue Lighters, and Polk won in spite of the Little Americans.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KENDRICK in the chair). Does the Senator from Arizona yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. ASHURST. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. McCUMBER. Was there not this difference between that time and this time in both Houses of Congress, namely, that in the Civil War there were at times Members of both Houses who were in reality against the President, who did not support him at all in the war, whereas at the present time there is not a single Senator to-day who is not for the most earnest and aggressive prosecution of this war?

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, as to whether or not Senators have been supporting the President, I leave that to the RECORD; whether the Senators who voted for the war supported the President or not I do not know; I leave that for other men to decide; whether those who voted against the draft supported the President or not I leave for somebody else to decide, but surely for some reason—I know not what—no candid man will deny that this atmosphere in the Senate, especially on the Republican side, is supercharged with hostility toward the President at this hour.

Mr. McCUMBER. Well, what I was asking was, Is not every Member of this body heart and soul for the prosecution of this war?

Mr. ASHURST. I am very glad I do not have to answer for the heart and soul of every Member of the Senate. It is a pretty good-sized task to answer for the heart and soul of myself. I hardly know how to answer the distinguished Senator. I am not going to be partisan enough to deny that a large number of Republican Senators have earnestly and honestly and ably supported the President in this war. No one who has a tinge of fairness would deny that statement, of course.

Mr. McCUMBER. Well, my point was that, while there may have been some Democrats and some Republicans who were slow about getting into the war, nevertheless since we have been in the war there is not one among us on either side who is not most ardently in favor of prosecuting the war.

Mr. ASHURST. Well, now, it has just been suggested to me that some of President Lincoln's critics took the same position with reference to President Lincoln. Senators say they are willing to support the President in his conduct of the war, but they employ captious criticism as to the method in which he conducts the war. I hope that these speeches this morning—these dolorous speeches—were not made for the purpose of securing any partisan advantage in the coming elections. I do not believe that they were made for that purpose; but I should like to know for what purpose they were made. Were they made for the purpose of assisting the President, whose burden now is certainly very great? Were they made to assist him? If not, for what purpose were they made?

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President—

Mr. ASHURST. First let me finish this sentence. In such a stupendous hour, when the scales are trembling, when we are all looking and seeking for the truth, and possibly the President not seeking for it more than some Senators themselves, I hardly think it contributes to a correct solution to charge the President with the crime of being about to become weak-kneed and yielding up the advantages that our armies have achieved in the field.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, the Senator from Arizona will undoubtedly know that the morning papers of to-day throughout the whole country are—every one of them—expressing the same sentiment that Senators have expressed here. They are all good, strong supporters of the Government and of the President in the prosecution of this war; but undoubtedly they have felt that their voice ought to be heard. They express the American heart and sentiment. Then, why should not the American representatives express the same sentiment? They are supposed to represent the American people. Can there be any harm in saying to the President we do not want any kind of a compromise, even though we may feel that he will not comprise; that there may be no cessation of hostilities, even though we do not believe that there is any great danger of such a cessation; and that there shall be no talk of peace unless there is first unconditional surrender? That means that we are with him, the same as the press is with him.

I am one of those—if the Senator from Arizona will allow me—who stand straight with the President on his 14 propo-

sitions. I might possibly, in the first instance, have some doubt as to what the third proposition meant, but I am certain the President did not intend to convey the idea that he would be in favor of free trade with this country. I know he did not mean anything of that kind; and I do not agree with my colleagues who think that he meant just what they have said that third proposition does mean; but I think that we are entitled to a little something beyond that which is in the 14 articles; and, if I say that I want something more, that is not saying that I do not agree with everything that is contained within those 14 articles.

Mr. ASHURST. The Senator is right in the statement which he has just made. The Senator is very calm and very clear headed. Suppose he were President—and the Republican Party could do a vast deal worse than to nominate the distinguished Senator from North Dakota for President—suppose that he were President, and that he had 8 or 10 months previously laid down certain terms to a nation with which we were at war, and had supplemented that with other terms, saying "these terms must be met before we will think of a cessation of hostilities"; suppose then a message purporting to be regular, however irregularly it might come, as this wireless message has come—suppose such a message should come from the Government with which we should be at war, saying "we are ready to meet all of your terms." What would the Senator do? Will the Senator answer that question?

Mr. McCUMBER. I stated that a short time ago; but if the Senator from Arizona wants a direct answer to that question, I will say that I would say to such a nation, "Nine months ago you refused those terms, and because of your refusal you have caused the loss of the lives of millions of men; you have destroyed hundreds of cities and villages; you have permitted a vast number of atrocities; and while you are pleading for peace you are committing atrocities upon American ships and upon American seamen. So I now, in addition to my 14 articles, will demand of you reparation for the wrongs that you have subsequently committed."

Mr. ASHURST. The Senator from North Dakota justifies my inference that he would not make a bad candidate for the Presidency, and I think I would say the same thing which he has just suggested. But who is there here who will dare say that the President of the United States will not say just that same thing? Who is there here who dares say the President is not as wise as the Senator from North Dakota and that the President will not say that very thing?

Mr. McCUMBER. I hope he will.

Mr. ASHURST. My complaint is that we have anticipated what the President is going to say; we have proceeded upon the hypothesis that we can not trust him to say the correct thing.

I will now ask permission, as a part of my remarks, that the Secretary read an article in the Sunday New York Times by Mr. Charles H. Grasty. It is not very long, and I should like to have the Senate listen to the article, headlines and all.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

WISH WILSON'S NOTE HAD REBUKED ENEMY—EUROPE IN WHITE HEAT OVER GERMAN ATROCITIES, BUT COOLER MINDS APPROVE REPLY.

(By Charles H. Grasty.)

(Copyright, 1918, by the New York Times Co. Special cable to the New York Times.)

PARIS, October 11.

It is remarked that while the President's reply to Berlin has commanded formal approval from the press and public of Europe there seems to be a lack of enthusiasm in some quarters. It is true, perhaps, that the present European mood would have been better suited if the President's reply had contained a note of severe reprobation of Germany's crimes.

Europe is worked up to a white heat of indignation by the wanton destruction of the Hun in northern France. This devilry, added to all that has happened before, and coming at the moment of a prayer for an armistice, caused a wave of disgust and indignation to sweep over France.

Those who are looking for practical results rather than the venting of these very natural human emotions hold, however, that the President's reply is of precisely the right temper. They say all moral forces still lie at the bottom of the matter. The President has reserved them and they will go into the scale later at maximum weight. Any expression of horror, any tone of vindictiveness would have dissipated in some degree the moral advantage which the entente now has over Germany.

"The President's idea of cold justice saves the situation in its entirety," said a prominent American. "Every wrong Germany has done since August, 1914, is on record, and will count in the final reckoning. If Wilson's note had borne the color of vengeance or expressed the slightest emotion it would have played Germany's game. The controversy once launched in these tones and terms might eventually lead to what would be distorted into an appearance of crimination and re-ermination, out of which the militarists could draw new material for fooling the German people."

"Nothing more fortunate for Germany could happen than to have the whole world alight with passion just now. It is reason and justice she has to fear. In the President's reply one seemed to hear the click of handcuffs on the wrist of the German militarist felons."

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I am going shortly to conclude. Other Senators are anxious to claim the floor, and I do not want to weary the Senate. I wish merely, however, to say that one of the reasons why Woodrow Wilson, and not some other man, is President is because Woodrow Wilson can read and speak without color of vengeance. The fact that I am unable at times to speak on these matters without a tone of vengeance is what has retarded me and what retards all of us. That is the reason that some of us are not President, likely; and it is happy for the country that at this hour of great peril there is a man at the helm who can talk without color of vengeance and who can write without color of vengeance, but who, when he does write and does speak, you can hear, as this paper says, the "click of handcuffs on the wrists of the German militarist felons."

Now, Mr. President, I have no fear; in fact, as a modest, unpretending Senator, I will assure the Senate that when the President does speak and does act on the latest German expression or pronouncement, it will be a speech or an action which will not in any way relax the iron grasp which our soldiers and the soldiers of our allies have in Flanders and in France; when he does speak or act it will be such speech or action as will not in any way discourage the spirit of our people, our soldiers, or our allies. On the contrary, it will be such speech or such action as will tend, rather, to encourage and stimulate them to higher and, if it were possible, to more valorous endeavor.

I will again read from the eloquent speech of Missouri's brilliant Senator at page 160 of the manuscript:

I tell you, sirs, that when the conditions of peace are written, the hand of Woodrow Wilson will not be, it can not be, subscribed to any treaty that does not compel Germany to tread the wine press and to pay back to the world, as far as she can in her own suffering, for the agonies that she has wrought and for the desolation that she has brought upon the earth.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD as a part of my remarks an editorial from the New York World of yesterday, entitled "Is this what men are dying for?"

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The editorial referred to is as follows:

[From the New York World, Oct. 13, 1918.]

IS THIS WHAT MEN ARE DYING FOR?

What is back of some of the Republican criticism of President Wilson's diplomacy and some of the Republican opposition to his peace program is frankly and shamelessly revealed by the American Economist, the organ of the American Protective Tariff League.

Replying to the World's questions—"In what way will the election of a Republican Congress hasten the winning of the war? In what way will it assure a more satisfactory peace?"—the American Economist tells the American people that they are not fighting for liberty and democracy and civilization, but for money and markets. We quote its exact language:

"In the great issue of 1918 far more is involved than the release of nations from the tyranny of Germany. True, that is the rallying ground—the reason why the allies and the boys from America are fighting so desperately.

"But back of all the shouts for liberty and freedom is the bare, cold fact that this is an economic war, a war for national supremacy and security."

Continuing, the Economist says:

"A conclusive and satisfactory peace in 1898 needed that undivided support of the American people. A conclusive and satisfactory peace in 1918 would likewise need the undivided support of the people, provided nothing but liberty and justice were involved.

"But the present war is now an economic war."

Hence President Wilson must be beaten in the fall election because he has declared in favor of "the removal of all economic barriers between nations"—meaning that there must be no special and secret trade agreements. "The proposed Democratic peace program also contemplates a 'league of nations,' and that must be blocked by 'a protectionist Congress.'"

The American Economist may not seem important in itself, but it speaks for the American Protective Tariff League, and, unfortunately, the American Protective Tariff League is the Republican organization in all economic matters. Every Republican tariff schedule has been dictated by the protected manufacturers who constitute this league and fill the campaign chests of the Republican treasury.

Thus the Economist gives us the first authentic definition of an old-guard peace—the kind of peace for which the Republican organization is battling in the congressional elections. Individual support of the President might be all right if "nothing but liberty and justice were involved," but reactionary Republicanism is not concerned about liberty and justice. This is "an economic war," and an economic war is one which pays dividends to big business.

There are hundreds of thousands of Republican voters in the American Army. There are hundreds of thousands of Republican fathers whose sons are fighting in France. There are thousands of Republican mothers whose heroic boys have already given the last full measure of devotion.

We wonder what they think of this cold-blooded, sordid, mercenary proposition that the American Economist puts forth in pleading for a Republican protectionist Congress? We wonder what they think of the claim that their sons have not been fighting for human freedom, have

not been fighting for the liberty of mankind, but have battled merely for economic gain, for dirty dollars to be stuffed into the swollen pockets of steel and wool and cotton? How many of those patriotic Republican men and women would like to stand beside the graves that dot the fields of France and be told that these dead did not die for justice and civilization, but for Schedule K?

Yet is there the slightest reason to doubt that the American Economist speaks with authority as to the policy that a reactionary Republican Congress will pursue toward peace? Is there the slightest reason to doubt that a Republican majority under the present leadership of the party means that if there is any possible way to bring it about, the blood of 6,000,000 dead soldiers is to be capitalized for the profit of protected industry?

If so, we trust that there is at least one Republican in the House or Senate who will have the courage to stand up and protest in the name of Abraham Lincoln against such a revolting prostitution of humanity's tears and blood.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, in these momentous times I believe it is the privilege of every Senator to express his views and, if he may think he can correctly do so, to make known as well the views of his constituents on the vital questions of the times which are burning in the heart of every true American citizen. That I shall undertake to do on the question extensively discussed here to-day. I know my views and think I know those of my constituents. I have an Associated Press dispatch of a few days ago, clipped from a morning paper of this city. I will read it.

HELENA, MONT., October 7.

The Montana Council of Defense to-day sent a telegram to President Wilson declaring it to be the sense of the council that no negotiated peace be made with Germany, and that the only terms granted her be unconditional surrender.

The body mentioned in that dispatch, the Montana Council of Defense, is an official body, officially entrusted with the conduct of war activities in and for and on behalf of the State of Montana, and it speaks with official authority. I am in hearty accord with the sentiments set forth in the dispatch which I have just read.

I have a telegram from two organizations of my home town, Hamilton, Mont., which I read:

HAMILTON, MONT., October 9, 1918.

HON. HENRY L. MYERS,
Washington, D. C.:

Local division of American Defense Society and Hamilton Chamber of Commerce urge you use your influence against consideration of peace terms unless enemy first lay down arms unconditionally and withdraw from all territory of allies occupied by them.

AMERICAN DEFENSE SOCIETY,
By O. C. WAMSLEY, Chairman.
HAMILTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
By J. S. MCGONAGLE, President.

I am in hearty accord with the sentiments set forth in that telegram.

There was published a few days ago in the Ravalli Republican, a weekly newspaper published in my home town, an item which I will read. It relates to a meeting which was held in the opera house in that town and which was addressed by a returned private soldier who had seen service with our armies in Europe. It is as follows:

Although not a near-orator, Private Mike O'Rourke attentively held the large audience at the Grand Theater with an account of his experiences in the front-line trenches. He was emphatic in his denunciation of the Huns, as he told of the almost unbelievable things he saw in France.

"Do you know what a Hun is? I'll tell you what he is; he is a dirty brute," said O'Rourke. Whenever he denounced the Germans the applause was almost deafening, showing that the war spirit is growing more intense at home.

I am in accord with the sentiment expressed in that article. The sentiment bluntly expressed by that humble private, who has bared his breast to the fire of our enemies and exposed his life on the battle field in defense of his country, is identical with my sentiment.

I have received a resolution of the Missoula County American Defense Society, of Missoula, Mont., which I will read:

Whereas the Austro-Hungarian Government has made a peace proposal to the United States and her allies, and the Missoula County American Defense Society is desirous of expressing its views with reference to the same: Therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Missoula County American Defense Society that the war be prosecuted until Germany and her allies make a complete and unconditional surrender on German soil, and that, when this is accomplished, the United States and her allies dictate the terms of peace which Germany and her allies must accept.

I am in hearty accord with the principle expressed in that resolution. I at least believe we should exact and should have an unconditional surrender by our enemies, no matter where such surrender may take place. I believe, too, we and those associated with us should name the terms of peace.

I clipped from a Montana paper the other day an item relating to an expression of sentiment by the ministers of the city of Butte, in the State of Montana. It is as follows:

BUTTE, October 7.

The Butte Ministerial Association, comprising all Protestant churches in the city, to-day wired President Wilson urging against peace at this time. Rev. Guy Talbot, of Los Angeles, addressed the meeting on the moral aims of the war.

The association took the position that peace now would not accomplish morally what the complete defeat of Germany would accomplish.

I agree with the sentiment expressed in all the articles and communications which I have read. They are in thorough accord with my sentiments. I do not want anyone in my home town or in my State or anywhere else to have any doubt about my sentiments or my attitude on the question which has engrossed the attention of the Senate to-day. Neither do I want any doubt to exist about the sentiment of the people of my State; about the attitude of Montana in regard to the question which has been under discussion in the Senate, to-day.

The people of Montana have "gone over the top" in all war activities. They have gone beyond the limit in subscriptions to liberty-loan bonds, war savings stamps, the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the Knights of Columbus, and all manner of war activities; and, also, as well in enlisted men in our Army and Navy. They have passed the limit in everything pertaining to the prosecution of the war. In war matters I think I can safely speak for the sentiment of the people of Montana. I believe I know their sentiment on this subject and I believe it my duty to express it as I understand it.

I believe the people of the State of Montana are absolutely and unqualifiedly opposed to any armistice in the conduct of the war under any condition, and that they are opposed to an ending of the war under any circumstances other than by unconditional surrender of our enemies. At any rate, whether they are or not, I am absolutely and unqualifiedly opposed to any armistice with our enemies under any circumstances. I am opposed to any method of ending the war other than upon the one term of unconditional surrender by our enemies. I do not know whether or not an armistice is in contemplation. I do not know whether or not there is any probability or possibility of an armistice. That has been much discussed on the floor of the Senate to-day. I have no knowledge on the subject but, whether or not an armistice of any kind be in contemplation, I am absolutely and unqualifiedly opposed to it. If no armistice is in contemplation, if none is thought of, if there is no danger of any armistice, it does no harm for me or any other man to say he is absolutely opposed to it. If it is in contemplation, if even thought of, if there is any possibility of it, then I for one want to register here and now my opposition to an armistice under any circumstances.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President—

Mr. MYERS. I yield with pleasure.

Mr. OWEN. Does not the Senator think that that is the opinion really of every Senator in this body?

Mr. MYERS. That what is the opinion of every Senator?

Mr. OWEN. Is there any dissenting voice about the opposition to an armistice? Is it not unanimous in the Senate that we should have an unconditional surrender? Is not that the sentiment?

Mr. MYERS. I do not know. I do not think every Senator who has spoken to-day has stated in plain words that he is opposed to any armistice, and that he is not in favor of ending the war except by unconditional surrender of our enemies. However, regardless of what others may think or may have said or not said, I want to make it plain that I am absolutely opposed to the thought of an armistice.

Mr. OWEN. The purpose of the Senator's declaration is to establish that sentiment which he is expressing. I have heard no opposition to the view which the Senator is expressing as his own, and I merely wished to emphasize his view by pointing out that I had heard of no Senator reaching a contrary view. I think it is practically the judgment of the Senate.

Mr. MYERS. I hope there is no Senator who would favor an armistice under any circumstances. I am opposed to any proposition of an armistice. My attitude in regard to the termination of the war comprises but one term. My attitude as to the term or terms upon which hostilities should cease is not expressed in the plural number. My proposal for the termination of hostilities comprises only one requirement, one condition, and that is unconditional surrender. I favor the unconditional surrender of our enemies and say: Let the terms of settlement be dictated by the United States and the entente allies after the surrender, and let them be made such as the United States and the entente allies may see fit to impose. I am for peace by dictation and not by negotiation. That expresses my attitude in regard to the prosecution of the war and its termination.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHEPPARD in the chair). Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. MYERS. I yield with pleasure.

Mr. McCUMBER. Do not the words of the President, in which he says in substance, "I can not present to the allies any suggestion of an armistice while your armies are upon their soil," indicate that he would present the question of an armistice when the German armies were not upon their soil, even though those armies had not been disbanded? That seems to be the fear that is in the hearts of a great many of our people.

Mr. MYERS. I do not know whether they indicate or do not indicate that the President would suggest an armistice to the entente allies if the allied territory be evacuated by the troops of our enemies. They do not necessarily imply that he would. That is not a necessary inference. I do not know whether he has such a thought in his mind or not. I can not state. I can only speak for myself. I can only say what I have in mind. I am opposed to any thought of any armistice, on or off of allied territory, on allied territory, or on German territory or on any other territory. I am opposed to any thought of any armistice anywhere.

Mr. McCUMBER. The Senator exactly expresses the feeling of the American people.

Mr. MYERS. I feel complimented to hear the Senator say so. Frankly, I believe, myself, I do. I voted for our declaration of war. I voted for the entrance of this country into the European War. I have voted for every measure for a vigorous prosecution of the war. I have voted for every measure to raise men or money for the prosecution of the war. I intend to continue to favor and support a vigorous prosecution of the war by every means in my power until there be an unconditional surrender of our enemies. That comprises my idea of the proper ending of this war, and I have no thought of anything else being a proper ending.

My belief is that we should have an unconditional surrender or that our enemies should submit to annihilation of their armed forces. If unwilling to surrender unconditionally, annihilation of their armed forces would not be unjust. They should expect nothing else. They deserve nothing else. The Germans not only annihilated but exterminated the lives of about 200 innocent men, women, and children, American citizens, when they sank the *Lusitania*, and the Germans celebrated that infamous act by wine and song and speechmaking and drunken orgies. They gloated over it and boasted of it. If they were now compelled to face unconditional surrender or annihilation of their armed forces, it would be nothing but just punishment and retribution.

Unless they are willing to surrender unconditionally, I favor a termination of the war such as Gen. Jackson put to the Seminole rebellion. When the Seminole Indians refused to surrender unconditionally he burned their towns and villages and camps and pursued them into the swamps and surrounded them and practically annihilated them. A mere handful of a remnant survived. The Seminole Indians were cultured gentlemen and Christian philosophers beside the Germans and the punishment the Seminole Indians had administered to them by Gen. Jackson would be, in my opinion, a hundredfold more fitting to the German armies.

The audacity of our enemies adds to their culpability and criminality and the fate they richly deserve. In my opinion, every proposition that any of our enemies has made for the consideration of peace or of an armistice has been characterized by falsehood, trickery, and deception. A short time ago, a member of the parliamentary body of Austria made a speech in connection with a resolution upon the subject of peace terms, and he started his remarks by saying "whereas it is well known that Austria from the beginning of the war has been fighting only a defensive warfare," and with that false premise he went on with his lying remarks. That is a sample of every move that has been made by our enemies to secure peace or an armistice. The audacity of such a statement is amazing to my mind.

We all know that Austria, under the instigation of Germany, plunged the world into this maelstrom of blood and destruction by declaring war on an humble and weak nation adjoining, Serbia, for the killing of an Austrian prince, and that after Serbia had made every effort to placate the Austrian Government and to make reparation for the act of a lunatic. That is the sentiment of audacity and brazen effrontery that has characterized every move that our enemies have made since they have tired of fighting and feel that it is better to seek cover. Their hearts are false, their motives are false, their words are false, I put no faith in them.

Even the propaganda that was conducted in this country before our entry into the war, by von Bernstorff, von Rentelen, von Papen, Dernburg and all the other nefarious agents of the German Government, for the purpose of poisoning the minds of our people, was characterized by falsehood, deception, trickery,

and audacity, and they are continuing their tactics in an effort to seek cover from a just punishment for their infamous crimes and outrages.

Speaking of brazen audacity, I read in the newspapers that there is a good deal of talk in Germany, Austria, and Turkey about seeking an honorable peace with their opponents. Those countries would be incapable of making an honorable peace because there is no honor in them. You might as well talk about a man without learning making a learned argument. Germany has no honor, and is incapable of making an honorable peace. In the last few days there has been talk in the German Reichstag about a peace without humiliation for the fatherland. It is, to my mind, the height of audacity, after the wholesale destruction and the unspeakable infamies Germany has heaped on the people of the world for her statesmen to talk about a peace without humiliation to the fatherland. It shows the spirit with which they are approaching negotiations for peace.

I am opposed to having any negotiations at all with the Germans. The only negotiations I would have with them are the negotiations of shot and shell, grape and canister. I think that the most fitting response to their overtures for peace would be slaughtering more Huns and piling up the bodies of dead Germans on the battle field. The audacity of our enemies makes my feelings strong for unconditional surrender. I have read something in the newspapers about a peace which would be "tantamount" to unconditional surrender. I do not want anything "tantamount" to unconditional surrender. I do not want the tantamount part of it at all. Nothing but unconditional surrender, in my opinion, would be just. Germany willfully, deliberately, maliciously, cruelly brought on this war for criminal purposes of the vilest kind, after 40 years of preparation, without discussing terms with her victims. Armed to the teeth, she leaped upon an innocent, unsuspecting, unprepared world without consultation about terms. Let her end it without consultation about terms, I say.

I believe the people of the United States will be keenly disappointed and greatly chagrined if the war ends in any other way than by unconditional surrender; at least, I believe a tremendous majority of the loyal people of this country would so feel if this war should end in any other way. Of course, the I. W. W.'s, the anarchists, the American Bolsheviks, want peace right away. I suppose they all want an armistice. I have no doubt that Eugene V. Debs wants an armistice, that Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman want an armistice, that the 100 I. W. W.'s who were sent to the penitentiary about a month ago by a Federal court in Chicago want an armistice right away; but what they want I am opposed to. Whatever they may favor I think it wise for loyal people to oppose.

There has been a good deal of talk about whether or not Germany is sincere in seeking an armistice. A great many people express the opinion that she is not sincere. I think Germany is absolutely sincere in seeking to escape just punishment for her crimes and infamies. I think Prince Maximilian is absolutely sincere in seeking not only an armistice but peace right away, a cessation of hostilities either temporary or permanent. I think Germany is appealing to this country to save her from the just punishment which she knows to be due her. I think Prince Maximilian is absolutely sincere. I think that his motive in turning to us in despair is to try to save the German people from the just punishment that they richly merit. I think his motive the same no matter whom he may represent. I do not care whom Prince Maximilian represents. It does not make any difference to me whether he represents the war lords of Germany or the people of Germany. I do not differentiate between the war lords of Germany and the people of Germany. They are all of one and the same kind. They all belong to the same bloodthirsty race of people who are dominated by worship of force, lust for conquest, and thirst for world dominion. There never was a government in the world that had its entire populace more solidly back of it than the Government of Germany when it entered this war.

In my judgment, the people of Germany were just as eager for a war of conquest as was the German Kaiser. They wanted a war of conquest, spoliation, brutality. It is their way. I do not believe there has been a French or a Belgian woman who has had her breasts cut out by a German brute; I do not believe there has been a young woman outraged by a German soldier in France or in Belgium, in the presence of her helpless father, tied hand and foot; I do not believe there has been a mother outraged in France or Belgium, in the presence of her helpless husband, tied hand and foot; I do not believe there has been a well poisoned in France or Belgium, an orchard destroyed, a church or cathedral destroyed, an art gallery ruined; I do not believe there has been a city or town bombed or burned, a home demolished, a house wrecked; I do not believe there has

been an infant disemboweled in its mother's arms; I do not believe an infant has been seized from its mother's arms and its brains dashed out on the floor in her presence; I do not believe there has been a priest carried off into captivity; I do not believe there has been a woman carried off into worse than slavery by those scoundrels but what it has the approval of the German people. At least, I have heard of no disapproval by the new or any of them. Those things were not done by the German Kaiser. I suppose it will be admitted that they were done by people. They were certainly not done by cattle, horses, sheep, or mules. They were perpetrated by people. Were they perpetrated by Italian people, Scotch people, or Greek people? No; they were perpetrated by Germans. The German soldier is a part of the German people. Therefore, I say I do not care whom Prince Maximilian may represent. It is the same to me whether he represents the German Imperial Government or a new Government—the present Government, as he calls it—or the people of Germany. I am opposed, absolutely opposed, to any armistice with the Germans under any circumstances.

In my opinion, if an armistice were instituted it is very doubtful if fighting would ever be resumed.

If an armistice were had at which there was a peace conference, a series of negotiations about the ending of the war, I doubt exceedingly if the fighting would ever be resumed. War is like a great body in motion. It moves largely of its own momentum. It takes a great fervor, a spirit of enthusiasm, a hearty sentiment of the people to keep a war going, and if we had an armistice for several weeks or months I believe the war fervor of the people on both sides would cool and there would be a decrease of the war spirit, the will to win or die, and in that event, I would fear very much that we would have a peace by bargain, parley, negotiation; a compromise peace; a peace in which our enemies would have a voice. To that I am opposed. Whether we shall have negotiations over a peace table for peace or not; whether we shall settle terms through an armistice or after unconditional surrender, I am absolutely opposed to permitting the representatives of Germany, Austro-Hungary, or Turkey to sit at a conference table. I believe when it comes to considering the terms of peace Germany, Austria, and Turkey should be bound hand and foot, bucked and gagged, and left outside the conference room, and only representatives of the United States and the entente allies should be permitted to sit at the table; that they should decide what the terms of peace are to be, and after they decide they should go outside and tell the Germans, Austrians, and Turks what their fate is to be, what the terms of peace are to be.

What those terms ought to be I am not wholly prepared to say. It is not my place to say. It may be that as a part of those terms the German Kaiser should be executed or imprisoned or exiled for life. It may be that as a part of them the German Empire should be dismembered and partitioned. It may be that the German Government ought to be required to pay many billions of dollars for the damage, ruin, spoliation, and infamy that the Germans have inflicted on France and Belgium. It may be that they should be compelled to restore Alsace and Lorraine to France. I think they should. It may be that they should be required to pay back with interest the \$1,000,000,000 which they extorted by robbery from France nearly 50 years ago. It may be that they should, and I think they should, be required to pay to the United States damages for every merchant ship belonging to the United States which they have sunk with its cargo and crew and passengers.

It may be that they should be required to pay indemnity for the loss of every American life that went out of existence when the *Lusitania* was sunk. I am convinced of that. I am not prepared now to say that all those terms should be imposed upon the Germans, but I do think some of them should be imposed. I feel quite sure that they should be compelled to give Alsace-Lorraine back to France and that they should be required to pay many billions of dollars of indemnity to France and Belgium for the ruin and spoliation and infamy that they have inflicted upon those countries. I believe that Germany should be required adequately to reimburse the United States for the lives of our citizens which were destroyed on the high seas while they were traveling on peaceful merchant ships, such as the *Lusitania*, unarmed and not carrying munitions of war. I am sure that some of those terms should be imposed; but whatever terms may be imposed I am absolutely opposed to letting the Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, or Turks have anything whatever to say about it. If we should allow representatives of those Governments at the peace table, to my mind it would be a good deal like allowing a hardened criminal, a murderer or a burglar, to go into the jury room with the jury and deliberate with the jury, as a part of the jury, as to what his fate should be. If a man should outrage the women of a family,

burn the house, wound the head of the house, steal everything he could carry away, and destroy all else, I would as leave think he should with his blood-red hands sit down to dinner and talk it over with the wounded husband and father as to whether he should have an honorable peace and a settlement without humiliation to him or not as to think of admitting Germans, Austrians, and Turks to participate in a peace conference with representatives of this country and of the entente allies.

My opinion is that the way to avoid such a travesty on justice is to insist on unconditional surrender, the United States and the allies to fix the terms of peace, and let our enemies know what they are after they have been fixed.

I clipped from the Washington Morning Post the other day an excerpt from an editorial. I will read it. It says:

Let us consider how the average German individual is compelled to act in the terrible situation that surrounds him. He has given his all for four years and is now an emaciated, poverty-stricken, prematurely aged person, mourning the loss of the male members of his family. He has been fed full of promises which have proved to be false from the beginning. He can not now depend upon the word of any human being, from the Kaiser down to his nearest neighbor. The world seems to him to be full of liars and enemies. He obtains the truth only by adopting the opposite of anything that is told him by his Government. He ascertains that the allies are making sure progress toward German soil, their power constantly and rapidly growing, and their purpose inflexibly fixed upon the annihilation of the empire unless it surrenders.

This German from the depths of his soul cries for peace. Give us peace! That is the cry that goes up from all Germany to the Emperor. "Give us peace!"

If that is the condition of the German people they have wantonly brought it upon themselves, and if they want peace let them demand of their rulers an unconditional surrender, just as Gen. Lee surrendered to Gen. Grant, just as Lord Cornwallis surrendered to George Washington. There is nothing unfair about that. Cornwallis did not ask for any terms of peace when he made his surrender; Gen. Lee did not ask for any terms of peace when he made his surrender; and surely the men who fought for the Confederacy were entitled to more consideration than are the people who are fighting us; yes, a thousand times more. The Confederates fought for a principle. They fought over a question about which there was wide room for different opinions, the question of the right of secession. There was nothing in the Federal Constitution on the subject, nothing saying that a State could or could not secede; it was an open question; there were equally honest views on each side; and the Confederates fought for their honest view of that question. It is well, of course, that it was settled forever, and as it was settled, by the arbitrament of the sword; but it was an honorable fight; yet Gen. Lee's veterans surrendered without any armistice, without any terms, except unconditional surrender; and I say let our enemies do the same. If an honorable foe can do that, an infamous one should be made to do so.

Only Saturday last, I received news of the death on the battle field in France of John McConnell, a manly young man of my home town. I knew him when he was a mere boy. I saw him last spring when he reported here in the uniform of his country, and was on his way to France to fight under the flag of his country and to die for our rights. His parents are respected citizens of my home town. There have been other young men of my county who have given their lives to our cause; two of them went down on the ill-fated *Tuscania*, sunk by a German submarine. There have been others from my county who have given their lives in this war, as there have been from other parts of the country. Young men from all sections have died for us and for liberty and right in this cruel war. Of course, they were just as dear to their parents as were the young men of my community dear to their parents. When I think of these young lives being sacrificed in this awful maelstrom of destruction which the greatest band of criminals which the world has ever known has plunged upon the defenseless and unsuspecting people of the world, I think that the criminals ought to be made to pay well for it, and that unconditional surrender is the only just condition of ending the war. I would have seared into the heart of every German soldier the words "unconditional surrender." I would have every German who has perpetrated an infamy and outrage against men, women, children, and decency in France or Belgium constantly haunted by the specter "unconditional surrender." I would have that before them until they knew that that was the only possible ending of this war. Then, if they should not want to end it in that way, let them prepare to fight until the last man in their ranks should perish. I wish that everyone here and everyone in our country might always remember the insolent words of the German Kaiser when the United States protested against the sinking of the *Lusitania*. He used words somewhat to this effect in regard to one of our protests:

The United States Government must not go too far in this matter; it must not undertake to humiliate the fatherland.

When I think of those insolent words, I think there is nothing befitting them except unconditional surrender by the infamous scoundrel who uttered them. I recall the statement made to Ambassador Gerard on one occasion by the German Kaiser, when, in effect, he said to him, so Mr. Gerard says:

If the United States does not watch out, after this war is over, she shall hear from Germany, and have something to settle with Germany.

I believe now is the time for the United States to settle whatever she may have to settle with Germany; and I believe the settlement should be nothing less than unconditional surrender by Germany. Let it all be settled now. Leave nothing to the hereafter.

I wish that everybody in this country would read Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis's book on German Atrocities. I have not read it in full, but I have read some choice excerpts from it, and when I read those excerpts and think of those scoundrels over there, now whining and begging for peace like whipped curs, and looking to us for a possible escape from just punishment for the infamies which they have heaped upon the world, upon humanity, and upon decency, it seems to me there is only one fit reply to all of their appeals, and that is "unconditional surrender."

My prediction is that if there be any ending of the war except by unconditional surrender and fitting terms imposed upon the German people, in a very short time after the ending of the war they will be boasting and bragging about the diplomatic victory which they obtained over the entente allies and the United States; that the German Government will be telling its people that not an iota of fighting took place on German soil; that not a particle of blood was shed on German soil; that not a German structure was destroyed by fire or shot or shell; that "we kept them at bay; we kept them off our territory, and finally we made them give in and come to terms before they could get into our territory or exact any reparation for the damage we had done to them." I believe that after such an end of hostilities, that after any termination other than by unconditional surrender, the German Government and the German people, too—yes, the people—would begin immediate preparation for the next war, which would be fought before many years. They would proclaim a victory; and the rulers would tell their people that they would achieve a greater victory in the next war. I want this war ended so there never can be another such. I want it so ended that there will not be another war for centuries to come. I abhor war, but I want to see this one, awful as it is, fought to such a close that Germany, the bandit of the world, at any rate will want no more war for all time.

My idea is that the only way to prevent another monstrous outrage, such as Germany has inflicted upon the world and humanity and decency, is absolutely to crush the monster; to crush the beast of Berlin, and to render him absolutely helpless; to put the Germans under mortgage, paying indemnities and damages for the next hundred years. That is my honest and sincere feeling about the war and its prosecution to a successful end, the only kind of end that it ought to have.

I believe in using to the end "force, more force; force without stint or limit."

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I rise primarily for the purpose of asking unanimous consent of the Senate to have printed in the RECORD an editorial written by Mr. George Morris, in the Memphis News-Scimitar of October 10, 1918, on the subject of "Do not be blinded to German outrages by the cry of 'kamerad.'"

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the article will be printed in the RECORD.

The article referred to is as follows:

DO NOT BE BLINDED TO GERMAN OUTRAGES BY THE CRY OF "KAMERAD."

"The excesses committed by the Hun during the intoxication of success find a parallel in his vandalism that comes of a blinding rage induced by reverses and disaster.

"There can be no excuse for the wholesale destruction he is leaving in the wake of retreating footsteps.

"Somehow the German mind has never anticipated the day of retribution that must eventually overtake him, unless the law of compensation shall cease to function.

"He has relied upon the very simple performance of throwing down his gun, throwing up his hands and crying "kamerad" as a refuge from the wrath of an outraged civilization.

"He lays great stress upon the mercy of those to whom he was merciless in the days when they were defenseless.

"The day is coming shortly when the words of a German must be measured by German deeds, and his protestations must be weighed alongside his conduct.

"The German is going to exert himself to the utmost before he is willing to accept the decree of peace which the allies will impose. That means that the campaign of 1919 will mark the

titanic struggle, and the decisive phase if not the end of the war.

"There are many issues that can be settled around the council table after the guns are silenced. But there are issues that guns and bayonets alone can settle.

"The diplomats will determine the distribution of territory and the rights of colonies to decree their future national affiliation. They will figure with pencil and paper the intrinsic value of property destroyed, cities that have been razed, and lands that have been laid in waste.

"But there are issues that the soldiers of the allied armies alone can determine, and scores that they alone can settle. These are the things that are giving concern to the German people, and they are the things that the Kaiser and the militarists care least about.

"The Kaiser and his chancellor are going to want to discuss the things that are of little moment to the German soldier."

"The German is the author and the sole exponent of frightfulness upon land and sea. He began it to win the war when he was advancing over prostrate people, and he found it so congenial to his nature that he does not withhold the torch and the bomb when there is no demand from military necessity and no strategy to be served.

"The places that escaped the application of his torch in his advance are not spared in his retreat.

"Wherever the German boot has trod there is a path of wreck and ruin and outrage.

"There is nothing comparable to the suffering he has inflicted upon the civil population, and no torture known to the mind of a demon that he has failed to visit upon the unfortunate soldiers that have fallen into his hands.

"The German people have encouraged the soldier for his excesses, and applauded him for his crimes. He has been stimulated in his outrages by the ringing approval of his people.

"The unfortunate women of Belgium tell pitiful tales of their humiliation, and thousands of witnesses, through a merciful Providence, were spared by death from a living hell.

"It was the same in France, Serbia, Russia, Poland, Roumania, and the submarine warfare added a climax to the lust for useless destruction of human life.

"The execution of Edith Cavell, the English nurse, the execution of Capt. Fryatt, who was said to have destroyed a submarine, and the sinking of the *Lusitania* are not proper subjects for diplomatic determination.

"The air raids upon London and Paris, with the wholesale killing of women and children, defenseless and unoffending, is one of the darkest blots upon the pages of German history. How the Germans must have reveled in the news that during a raid on Palm Sunday his bomb went straight to the mark and claimed as its victims the women and children who knelt at the altar in prayer.

"These are incidents that are bright in the minds of those who have sworn to avenge them. There is no likelihood that they will be forgotten when the German begins to whimper like a whipped cur.

"Cowardice will gain contempt, but not sympathy. When a dog runs amuck and bites women and children people do not accept the excuse that it had a right to act differently during dog days, but they cut off its head and send it to a chemist to find out what was the matter with the dog.

"It is no defense for a burglar to say that he would not have committed murder except for the necessity to get away with the loot. He forfeited the right to the plea of self-defense. He had no right on another man's premises, and he had no right to have another man's goods in his possession.

"There is a debt that Germany owes to civilization. It is a debt conceived in blood, and it must be paid in blood. For more than four years the German has lived by the sword, and it is an ancient law that he that lives by the sword must die by the sword.

"Germany has inflicted too much suffering upon humanity, too much sorrow, and too many heartaches to be permitted to escape the penalty by exclaiming 'kamarad.'"

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, this editorial expresses the views that I have upon the present situation and I indorse it absolutely. I am absolutely opposed to any kind of an armistice with Germany, and I am opposed to the ending of this war except upon conditions of absolute surrender by Germany and Austria to the allied armies. Mr. President, I wish to say also that I do not think that the criticism which has been visited upon the President of the United States and upon the note he wrote to Germany a few days ago is either just or fair. Senators will remember that when we went into this war it was practically lost to the allies. It was the entrance of the United States into the war that turned the tide and made victory pos-

sible to the allied arms. If the United States had not gone into the war at the critical time in April, 1917, there might have been a very unhappy ending to this war for all the nations that are now allied together against Germany. Under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson war was declared by the United States and has been prosecuted step by step, approved not only by the people of the United States but by the liberty-loving peoples of all the world. Every step that the President has taken in this war has been approved by both sides of this Chamber and by all political parties. If the President has made any mistakes in conducting this war, where is the man who has said so or will say so? Inferentially it is argued that he made a mistake in writing this last note to Germany. Is there a Senator here who will say that he has made such a mistake? Indirectly they will suggest that; but is there one here who will say it? The President has made no answer as yet; he has merely asked the German Government and the German people a question or two that, to my mind, have brought about great good.

Certainly we now know that the same military classes in Germany that have been conducting the war all the time for Germany are still conducting it. There can not be any doubt about that. It is also made absolutely certain by this note that the Hohenzollerns are still in control of Germany. Then we have the admission by this last declaration from Germany, the absolute admission, that she is willing to give up all of the stolen territory and all of the stolen advantages and loot that she has obtained up to this date out of the war; that she is willing to give them all back, thereby admitting that she is an outlaw and a robber.

With that kind of admission in the hands of the President, he is now at liberty to answer the German request for an armistice, or for his good offices in securing an armistice. Unless I am greatly mistaken, when that answer comes—and may be it will come within the hour—when it comes it will be 100 per cent American. It will be American in its every detail and will reflect the undoubted sentiments of the American people to-day for a continuation of the war and no armistice. There will be no mistaking its language and no mistaking its effect. It will be in line with what he has done in every step in this war, making it a success from start to finish.

He has been the great leader not only in this country but of the allied countries of the world fighting Germany. He is the one great central figure of this war. Surely it does not seem to me that with this record of efficiency; this record of wise leadership; this record of undiluted, red-blooded Americanism; this record of war organization; this record which has spelled success on every battle front; this record which has brought us in the very arms of abundant success; this record which has brought us the confidence of our allies and the admiration of the world that anyone in this Chamber or outside of it ought to criticize him directly or indirectly for any step thus far taken in dealing with the common enemy.

Mr. President, I for one have absolute confidence in him; I for one believe that when he answers the note it will demand an absolute and unconditional surrender upon the part of Germany to the allied forces, and that no armistice will be given until that absolute surrender comes.

Mr. President, there is but one possible answer for Germany. There never was a nation so deceptive as Germany. At the very moment she was asking us to intervene for an armistice, and stating to us that she would withdraw from subjugated territory—at the very moment she was sending that kind of message to us—the Kaiser was having his brother-in-law elected King of Finland, a part of the subjugated territory from which he was then promising to withdraw. Could any conduct be more perfidious? It is impossible to conceive, under circumstances like that, that there could be but one answer, and that answer will be, in the words of our President, "Force! Force to the uttermost," and a continuation of this war until there shall be a peace dictated by America and her allies.

I confidently await the note of our great President which will embody and carry out the sentiments of the American people, sentiments that are entertained by more than 99 per cent of the American people, sentiments that will guarantee that there will be no cessation of hostilities, that there will be no attempt to fix peace terms until victory, and until a victory full and complete and permanent, is secured for the allied arms. The President will never stand for anything less than such a victory by force of arms, a victory dictated by allied armies, a victory commensurate with the sacred cause for which we went into this war, a victory which will bring a just and enduring peace and make all peoples subjugated by Germany free forever, and I devoutly hope will destroy for all time the iron militarism of Germany herself.

SUBSCRIPTION TO WAR WORK.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, I think it is practically the unanimous sentiment of the Senate that we can rely with confidence upon the President sustaining the view of the American people and the view of the Senate itself; that he represents that view; that he stands for a peace which shall be permanent and which can only be permanent with the destruction of the military autocracies which have brought this war on.

Mr. President, I wish to call the attention of the Senate to a joint resolution authorizing the national banks to subscribe to the united war-work campaign. Some time ago we passed a resolution permitting the national banks to subscribe to the Red Cross. The joint resolution for which I desire consideration provides that they may subscribe to the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, the Hebrew Charities, and certain others, all of which are associated as one organization for this purpose.

There is a great demand for it. The joint resolution embraces only a few lines; it was reported from the Committee on Banking and Currency a day or two ago. It would take only a minute to dispose of it; I do not suppose that there is a single Senator who would have the slightest objection to it, and I should be happy if the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR] would permit it to be disposed of, because it is so late now that we can hardly hope to get any action on the other and more important bill of which he is in charge.

Mr. McKELLAR. If it will not displace the retirement bill, I shall be very glad to yield.

Mr. OWEN. I ask, without displacing the unfinished business, that the joint resolution to which I have referred may be considered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the unfinished business is temporarily laid aside, subject only to the consideration of the joint resolution for which consideration is asked by the Senator from Oklahoma. Without objection, the Secretary will read the joint resolution.

The Secretary read the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 179) authorizing national banks to subscribe to the united war-work campaign, as follows:

Be it resolved, etc., That it shall be lawful for any national banking association to contribute to the united war-work campaign in the same manner and under the same conditions as they are authorized to contribute to the American National Red Cross by section 1 of the act entitled "An act authorizing national banks to subscribe to the American National Red Cross," approved May 22, 1918.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PEACE PROPOSALS OF CENTRAL POWERS.

Mr. FLETCHER. I desire to have two telegrams which I received to-day placed in the RECORD as indicating the sentiment which I believe to obtain in Florida as well as elsewhere.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the telegrams will be printed in the RECORD.

The telegrams referred to are as follows:

Hon. DUNCAN U. FLETCHER,
Washington, D. C.:

Our citizens respect the great judgment of President, but opposed to anything but unconditional surrender of Germany. Mayor wired President to-day.

LOUIS A. BIZE.

Hon. D. U. FLETCHER,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Sentiment here unanimous that to permit withdrawal of German armies from conquered territory and then to talk about it afterwards would be a German victory. Nothing but unconditional surrender and dictated terms will satisfy the people of Florida or of the United States, so far as that is concerned. Trust you will stand for that.

PETER O. KNIGHT.

Mr. FLETCHER. I will say, Mr. President, in this connection, that I have had these telegrams inserted in the RECORD, not because I feel that there is the slightest foundation now, or that there ever has been, for the apprehension which may be inferred or implied from these telegrams. I can well understand how the people of Tampa, whence they come—and they are illustrative of others coming from Florida—feel as they do about this matter, because they have been called upon not only to make numerous sacrifices in various ways, but they have suffered other losses, for some 30 of the brave boys of that

city went down on the steamship of that name—the *Tampa*—which was assisting in conveying troop ships on the other side.

I will say, further, Mr. President, that the discussion to-day, especially from the other side of the aisle, seems to proceed along the line of assuming that the President has made propositions to Germany, and that there is danger that some of those propositions may compromise this country in some way or other. There is absolutely no foundation for that sort of assumption in anything that has been said or done. I feel this way: The roads from the battle lines to Berlin, according to last accounts, were in very good order; Ludendorff and Hindenburg and the Kaiser know the route, and about the best thing that can be done is to start to travel.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I wish to add only a very little to this discussion, which from the beginning has seemed inopportune to me. The President of the United States of America is the foremost figure in the world to-day. The war-weary world looks with hopeful eyes to the United States and to the director, the Commander in Chief of our armies, and the American people look with absolute confidence to Washington and to the President to carry on these negotiations successfully and in the interest and honor of the American people. I do not think the time has come yet when the Senate ought to express any opinion as to whether the President should do this or should not do that, but he should be left a free hand, in which event I think the matter will be settled as it ought to be settled, as justice demands that it shall be settled, and as the American people expect it to be settled.

I move that all the resolutions that have been offered here to-day be referred to the Foreign Relations Committee for such action as it may be thought wise to take there.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Arkansas.

The motion was agreed to.

NOMINATION OF OFFICERS OF NATIONAL ARMY.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I am going to ask that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside, solely for the purpose of making a request for unanimous consent for the consideration of another bill. It is very short, and I trust Senators will listen to the reading of it. It is the bill (S. 4990) to repeal a proviso of paragraph 3, section 1, of an act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917, and further amending said act, and reads as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the following proviso in the third paragraph of the first section of an act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917 (Public, No. 12, 65th Cong.), namely, "And provided further, That officers with rank not above that of colonel shall be appointed by the President alone, and officers above that grade by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," be, and the same is hereby, in all things repealed, and the following language, as an amendment to said section of said act, be substituted for the language repealed: "And provided further, That all commissioned officers shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate."

I desire to say that the bill has the unanimous approval of the Committee on Military Affairs, and I will say further, in explanation of it, that when the war came on in 1917 it was absolutely necessary to have a great number of officers, and they had to be appointed very quickly. It may be that a mistake may have been made in leaving it entirely to the heads of the departments, as the act referred to did leave it. Since that time there has been a splendid officers' personnel organization created in the departments, and there can be no difficulty or trouble about it. I believe that the Senate will agree with the committee that the bill is one that should be passed, and I therefore ask that the Senate proceed to its consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator, as the Chair understands, asks that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside.

Mr. McKELLAR. That request was made, and I understood it was granted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the unfinished business will be temporarily laid aside.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, do I understand the Senator from Tennessee to ask unanimous consent to take up the bill to which he has referred?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes. I supposed that there would be no objection to it, and I thought it might as well be disposed of. I want to go out of the city within the next day or two, and I was in hopes that there would be no objection to the bill. I trust, unless the Senator has some vital objection, that he will not interpose to prevent its consideration.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I am ashamed to say that I was not present at the meeting of the Committee on Mil-

tary Affairs when this bill was reported, and I am therefore compelled to ask the Senator if my understanding of it is correct?

Mr. MCKELLAR. I will be very glad indeed to answer any question.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Do I understand that this bill will result in laying before the Senate the nomination of every officer to be named in the United States Army from now on and the promotion of every officer?

Mr. MCKELLAR. It will be just exactly the same in the National Army as it is now in the Regular Army. The Senator understands that all appointments to the Regular Army and all promotions in the Regular Army are now required to come before the Senate, but those in the National Army and the appointments of a great many officers in various departments have not had to come before the Senate because of the provision in the act of 1917. The bill for which I ask consideration merely puts them all on the same footing and requires all such nominations to come to the Senate.

I will say to the Senator that I think there is no motive in the world back of the bill except the good of the service. Certain abuses have arisen in reference to the appointment of officers, and it is believed that no harm can come by requiring the approval of the Senate, in the good old constitutional way, to the nomination of officers.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I would not offer an objection at this time if the bill were confined to appointments in the Staff Corps; but, as I understand, the bill will throw before the Senate the name of every boy who graduates from an officers' training school and has been judged by a board of examining officers to be fit to hold a commission in the line of the Army, in the Infantry, Field Artillery, machine-gun organizations, and perhaps one or two other branches, like the Engineers, Quartermasters, and the Tank Corps.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I will say to the Senator that that is exactly the requirement the bill makes.

Mr. WADSWORTH. That will result in the carrying out of the program for expanding the Army in placing before the Committee on Military Affairs eventually an aggregate of 160,000 names, which I think is absurd upon its face.

I recognize some of the criticisms and regard them seriously that have been directed from time to time during the last 18 months toward the appointment of officers in the Staff Corps of the Army in the several branches of the service from civil life without going to officers' training schools, and I would gladly join in erecting by legislation some check upon that indiscriminate appointment of men from civil life to the Staff Corps. But I submit that it is utterly impossible for the Military Committee or the Senate as a body to pass judgment intelligently and with any advantage to the service upon the thousands and thousands of names of men graduated from officers' training schools after going through a severe course, and who have been passed upon by a board of officers at each of those training schools. I submit that it is utterly impossible for the Military Committee or the Senate to pass upon those names with any degree of intelligent discrimination or with any advantage to the service, and from time to time it will inevitably delay the appointing and commissioning of those officers. Nothing should be allowed to delay them after they once pass through the officers' training schools.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President—

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. THOMAS. I wish to remind the Senator that even now we have become accustomed, and I may perhaps say it is necessary, to consider and confirm military nominees en bloc, instead of going through the names carefully as they deserve, because we have not the time. I was not present at the meeting when this bill was considered, but I share the view of the Senator from New York.

Mr. WADSWORTH. In view of the seriousness with which this proposal is presented, I feel constrained to object to the present consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is made and the bill goes over. The unfinished business is before the Senate.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It may be that an important matter will reach the Senate in a short time which I should like to introduce into the Record and which possibly should be read to the Senate. Meanwhile we ought to have a very brief executive session, after which we can open the doors for a legislative session. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENT.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The unfinished business is before the Senate and will be proceeded with.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 4637) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.

Mr. MCKELLAR. Mr. President, this bill was laid before the Senate as the unfinished business at 2 o'clock, and I intended to let it go over until Thursday, but it seems to me it might very properly be discussed for a few moments.

The question of the retirement of civil-service employees of the Government has been one that has been argued for about 20 years. I think the first bill was introduced about 20 years ago. Up to this time there have been two general plans. One was a plan by which the Government would pay the entire cost of the retirement of superannuated employees and the other was that the employees should pay the entire cost. There have been advocates of both plans, and the result has been that there never has been any getting together on either one of those plans.

I may say that when I became chairman of the committee I called the advocates of both plans before our committee and had them submit their several propositions. I then called on the Government first from the Bureau of Efficiency to give us the exact figures as to how much it would cost to retire superannuated employees. After many delays and after a great deal of work as to the cost of retiring superannuated employees who had reached the ages of 65 and 68 years, 65 years for railway-mail clerks, rural letter carriers, and city letter carriers, and 68 years for all other employees, at a rate of pay of \$600 for those who had been in the service 30 years or more, \$540 for those who had been in the service between 25 and 30 years, \$480 for those who had been in the service between 20 and 25 years, and \$420 for those who had been in the service more than 15 years and less than 20 years, it was found that the retirement pay would cost 5 per cent of all the salaries of the employees.

Representatives of various organizations of the employees were brought before the committee and that was explained, and they were asked if they would submit to paying one-half of the cost. After a full consideration they declined to pay one-half, but came back with a proposition that they would bear 2 per cent of it if the Government would bear the other 3 per cent. To this proposition I answered that I would not introduce a bill unless they would each agree to pay one-half.

It was then suggested by some of the experts that by reducing the age of retirement to 62 years and 65 years instead of 65 years and 68 years, with another change about casualty retirements, the cost would be reduced to 5 per cent. The Government experts went into it very fully and the figures are in the report of the committee on file. They reported that it could be done for 5 per cent.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Five per cent of what?

Mr. MCKELLAR. Of all the salaries paid the employees.

Mr. POMERENE. Who was the expert?

Mr. MCKELLAR. Dr. Maddrill, of the Bureau of Efficiency.

Mr. POMERENE. May I ask the Senator if Mr. Brown was before the committee?

Mr. MCKELLAR. Mr. Brown was before the committee, and selected Dr. Maddrill for the purpose of making the calculation. The representatives of all the associations except the post-office associations agreed and were willing to bear the one-half of 5 per cent, or 2½ per cent. I declined to introduce the bill until there was an agreement of all the associations. Later on the post-office employees came in, and by their representative said they would agree to pay one-half.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President—

Mr. MCKELLAR. Just a moment. It was at that point that this bill was introduced providing for retirement at 65 years of the rural letter carriers, the railway mail clerks, and city letter carriers and 68 years for other employees. Those figures were introduced and at the same time the rate of compensation was agreed on, and the bill was introduced which has been reported by the committee. I yield to the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. WARREN. I notice section 11 provides that any employee may leave the service and withdraw all the money he put in and 4 per cent thereof.

Mr. MCKELLAR. That is correct.

Mr. WARREN. Does the Senator believe that the 2½ per cent provided for, the Government to pay one-half, and so forth, is going to establish finally any considerable amount toward the amount that will have to be paid in the various agencies, and that it will come anywhere near supporting the net result, one-half?

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator will examine the figures on pages 6 and 7 of the report he will find that the Government experts of the Bureau of Efficiency state that it will. We find another thing. We find that 2½ per cent will produce \$9,000,000 a year. I will say to the Senator that this was urged against the measure—that in war time we want to expend money for a different purpose, and that is a very vital proposition.

The answer to that proposition is this, and I hope Senators will listen to it: The amount paid out during the first year to the 7,500 superannuated employees will be a little less than \$2,000,000, while the amount collected the first year under this system from the employees through 2½ per cent will be \$9,000,000. The second year it will be a little less than two and a half million dollars paid out and \$9,000,000 collected. So it will go until finally it will equalize itself and cost the Government 2½ per cent and the employees 2½ per cent. In other words, they will have a fund there, and instead of being a cost for the Government at first it will be a very large overplus—\$6,900,000. The first year there will be collected from the employees more than is paid out, but when it finally reaches the maximum it will equalize itself and cost 5 per cent of the employees' salaries.

Mr. WARREN. I wish the Senator to understand that I favor and have for many years favored some legislation along the lines proposed. I am not quite certain that the figures the Senator has just given will bear the test of experience; but passing that matter for the time, I will observe that on page 8, lines 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14, the transfer of appropriations, I shall offer an amendment to strike out those lines when we come to the consideration of amendments to the bill, not that I wish to avoid in any way appropriating for it, but the idea of appropriating from the appropriated fund some indeterminate amount, whatever may be necessary for all time hereafter, is entirely against good legislation. I think instead of that we should appropriate what is necessary for the first year, and then expect to have reports and estimates made based thereon every year, as we do for the other wants of the Government.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am inclined to think that it is a most excellent suggestion the Senator has made, and if the Senator will prepare an amendment along that line I think it is most likely that I will accept it.

Mr. WARREN. I will say to the Senator that it would require striking out the five lines I indicated on page 8.

Mr. McKELLAR. I understand that perfectly.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, the Senator has been discussing the financial requirements of the bill for the next year or two, and I gathered from his statement that it was in his mind that it would be no financial burden upon the Government at this time.

Mr. McKELLAR. Certainly; not for 10 years.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I am a little unable to understand the foundation for that. If the Senator means that there will not be withdrawn from the purposes of the Government any fund during the next 10 years, it is true that a fund may be accumulated by contributions of the employees in excess of the amount required to pay the current portion of the amounts which will be incurred by the Government, but will not the amount contributed by the employees necessarily remain in the Treasury in a separate fund?

Mr. McKELLAR. That is true.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. And of course not available for current expenses of the Government.

Mr. McKELLAR. It will be available for any governmental purpose if paid out. It will be in the Treasury. For instance, take the year 1920. The receipts in the form of Government employees' salaries will be \$9,000,000; disbursements upon withdrawals prior to pension age, \$400,000; pensions and guaranteed returns to pensioners, \$1,732,000; and there will be an excess of \$6,900,000 the first year. In other words, that much will not be paid out.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. That may be perfectly true; but I will ask the Senator of what avail will that be to the Government in this time of financial need?

Mr. McKELLAR. It means that there will be paid into the General Treasury by employees the sum of \$9,000,000, and there will be paid out on account of annuities to those who have gone out under the law \$1,732,000.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. But does not the Senator understand that that \$9,000,000, or whatever sum it may be, will have to remain in the Treasury as a separate fund and can not be actually used by the Government?

Mr. McKELLAR. The act specifically requires that it shall be used by the Government and that the Government shall pay 4 per cent upon it. Instead of not being required to be used it is directed to be used by the very terms of the act. There can be no question about the Government using the money, and there

can be no question for at least the first 10 years that the amount paid in will exceed the amount paid out.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I should not understand, then, that this money is to be kept in a separate fund and kept out of use?

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no. It is kept in a separate fund on the books of the Treasury, and in that sense it is separate. In other words, it is a separate account of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Then, so far as the burden on the Treasury is concerned at this time, the Treasury would get \$9,000,000 from the employees, and out of the \$9,000,000 would pay 4½ per cent, or whatever rate of interest is mentioned, and the liabilities under the act.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is right.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Which the Senator estimates as probably about \$2,000,000?

Mr. McKELLAR. A little less than \$2,000,000 the first year. Then there will be an increase each year. The second year it will be \$1,972,000, the third year \$2,154,000, the fourth year \$2,400,000, the fifth year \$2,589,000, and the sixth year \$2,778,000, and so on.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Then, for the present emergency the Government would really be borrowing from its employees about \$9,000,000 at 4½ per cent.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is about what it would be.

Mr. POMERENE and Mr. THOMAS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator from Ohio rose first. I will yield to the Senator from Colorado later.

Mr. POMERENE. I understand there will be about 7,500 of these employees retired now.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. POMERENE. How many would become retirable under the bill during the succeeding year?

Mr. McKELLAR. I have not those figures with me, but will put them in the Record later.

Mr. POMERENE. At any rate the number who will be retired next year will be very much smaller than the number who will be retired when the act goes into effect.

Mr. McKELLAR. Of course, not in proportion, because—

Mr. POMERENE. Then, I understand your sole saving would be from the fact that you do not pay out on the salary account to the 7,500 employees who are now receiving a salary.

Mr. McKELLAR. That brings me to another phase of this bill which I should like very much to comment on.

Mr. POMERENE. May I ask another question in this connection, for I should like to hear what the Senator has to say upon the point? I confess I do not like the plan very much. I went into that pretty thoroughly some time ago. I think it should be eventually made self-sustaining. Does the Senator in his estimate classify the railway employees as Government employees?

Mr. McKELLAR. No.

Mr. POMERENE. Or the telephone and telegraph employees?

Mr. McKELLAR. No; they are not in the civil service. Only civil-service employees are included.

Mr. POMERENE. I am very glad to know that.

Mr. McKELLAR. I want to explain to the Senate about that, and what I am going to say now is purely an estimate. It is estimated that there are 7,500 of these superannuated employees and that 4,000 are absolutely useless to the Government. Many of those old people hobble to the buildings, but are absolutely incapable of doing any work whatever. The proof before our committee showed that those are men and women who have been longest in service. They are absolutely incapable of doing any work for the Government. Ordinarily, they are getting the highest rate of pay, and virtually they are being pensioned now at the highest rate of pay. It is estimated that 4,000 of them are absolutely doing no service to the Government at all, and that probably the salary of each one would amount to about \$1,500. There is \$6,000,000 that are being paid out toward these 4,000 superannuated employees for which the Government gets no return at all, and there are 3,500 left from whom the Government gets only a partial return; and that will probably make nearly as great a saving as the amount the Government will ever have to pay out. In other words, the bill not only provides for the benefit of employees but it will benefit the Government by increased efficiency and in saving the large salaries now paid to superannuated employees. I now yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator referred to the fact that there are some 4,000 of these employees who are doing no service for the Government at all.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. I suppose the Senator is aware that there are many thousands who are not superannuated who are also doing no service at all?

Mr. McKELLAR. I am afraid that is so, but I do not propose to grant them an annuity in this bill.

Mr. THOMAS. Not now; this is the first step.

Mr. McKELLAR. No, sir; I do not think so. I think this is a very just measure for the benefit of both the Government and the employees, and I do not think it will mean that.

Mr. THOMAS. I will make the prediction that before the act is five years old we will be granting special pensions under it, just as we are granting special pensions now to soldiers.

Mr. McKELLAR. I will call the Senator's attention to the fact that the United States and Turkey are the only civilized nations in the world, if you can call Turkey a civilized nation—

Mr. ASHURST. We will not do that.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator from Arizona says we will not do that. I say the United States and Turkey are the only civilized nations in the world that do not have retirement pay for superannuated employees.

Mr. THOMAS. I presume parallels could be drawn between the United States and some other nations with regard to the absence of some other legislation, but my purpose in rising was rather to make an inquiry regarding section 11, which provides that if an employee becomes separated from the service before he becomes superannuated he will receive back from this fund all that he paid in with 4 per cent compounded.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is true.

Mr. THOMAS. I take it, therefore, that if the employee begins now to make his payments and continues them for 24 years—I believe 25 years is the minimum for a pension—

Mr. McKELLAR. Fifteen years.

Mr. THOMAS. Fifteen years—well, for 14 years, or in the other case for 24 years, he will get, as a return from his advances, interest compounded during that whole period, which will be paid by the United States Government.

Mr. McKELLAR. Two and one-half per cent that he pays in annually.

Mr. THOMAS. Does the Senator think that he should receive that with compound interest?

Mr. McKELLAR. I am rather inclined to think that he should.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I do not think so.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I believe that the measure that has been worked out here is a fair one. I will say that it is in exact line with the bill that was formerly introduced by the senior Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH], which was prepared largely by Dr. Beach, one of the most expert accountants and one of the best informed men concerning this legislation that it has ever been my good fortune to know. He is employed in one of the departments here and is really a gifted man. This bill is not my work, except in pointing out its details; it is the same bill that has been prepared and introduced time and time again by others, with the exception that the half-and-half plan was put into it by me or forced into it by me. The employees very stoutly opposed it almost from the beginning, and they only agreed to it when they were informed that nothing more than a half-and-half plan would be introduced and fathered by me.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, in reply to what the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] has said, it seems to me that a sufficient answer is to say that if a man who is within the retirement age when he serves 15 years, retires when he has served 14 years, he will by that time have paid about 35 per cent, and if he receives that 35 per cent back, it is as against 100 per cent which he would receive if he remained in the service one more year.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is true, and I thank the Senator for the interruption. It does seem to me that the bill is fair and just and equitable. I shall be glad to answer any question that any Senator may wish to ask about it, so far as I am able.

I will say about this kind of legislation, that a pension system is now in existence in nearly every up-to-date corporation in this country, but probably none of them have a half-and-half system or a share-and-share system. Nearly every one of the great railroads in the country—the Pennsylvania, the New York Central, the Southern, and various other railroads of the country—have retirement systems for their superannuated employees. Nearly all of the other great corporations of the country have also retirement provisions by which the corporations themselves pay the retirement annuities. Massachusetts,

I believe, is the only State that has adopted this system. Massachusetts has such a system, and many of the cities of the country have adopted similar systems. They all work well, and they have all been found to be fair and just.

As I have heretofore stated, the United States is the only Nation, with the exception of Turkey, that has not yet adopted some kind of a retirement system. Great Britain adopted such a system away back before the reign of Queen Victoria in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. FLETCHER. Perhaps it has been answered; I may have been out at the time; but, though it may have been answered, I merely wish to inquire about what would be the direct cost to the Government, not the indirect cost and without regard to the benefits accruing by reason of increased efficiency, and all that sort of thing, but the actual outlay to the Government?

Mr. McKELLAR. In the present status it would amount to about \$9,000,000 a year, so far as it can be estimated, and it would amount to about that much brought in from the employees.

I wish now to call attention to another thing. Both political parties have adopted the enactment of this legislation in their platforms.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, the Senator does not mean by that to say that they have adopted this particular plan?

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no; but they have adopted planks in favor of retirement legislation.

Mr. POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. McKELLAR. I read from the Republican platform of 1912, as follows:

We favor legislation to make possible the equitable retirement of disabled and superannuated members of the civil service in order that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

The Democratic platform adopted at St. Louis in 1916 contained a provision on this subject, as follows:

An equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employees of the civil service, to the end that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

Those are the two provisions in the platforms of the two great political parties. It seems to me that this is an equitable, fair, and just system, and I can not imagine one that could be any more equitable. It is a half-and-half proposition, and it is safeguarded by careful preparation by Government experts. It is certainly fair to the Government, because we had a Government expert to furnish us all the figures; and it is reasonably fair to the employees, because all the employees' associations are committed to it and are in favor of it.

I will say that Mr. KEATING and I called on the President and asked him about it. He did not commit himself absolutely to this bill, but said he would give it consideration; that he was in favor of a just and fair and equitable retirement measure. The only objection that he raised to it was that it might constitute a burden on the Treasury during the war; but when assured that it will not constitute a burden on the Treasury during the war, as the figures show conclusively, then I am sure that the President's only objection to it has been met.

Mr. President, I think that is about all I care to say in regard to the measure, and unless some Senator is dissatisfied with it, I do not see any reason why we can not pass the measure at this time, if the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] were here, but he said that he had to go out of the Chamber and did not know whether he would be back in time or not, so I am afraid I am committed to postponement until he returns.

Mr. WARREN. The bill has not yet been read, and I assume the Senator desires to have it read.

Mr. McKELLAR. Of course.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I should like to inquire of the Senator whether the various civil-service associations to which he has referred have finally and definitely assented to this plan of raising by assessment one-half of the necessary funds?

Mr. McKELLAR. Every one of them has done so; and there is a provision in the bill directing all of the departments to deduct the 2½ per cent from the salaries of the clerks. It is in the bill and becomes a part of the law from the passage of the bill, that the deduction shall be made from the salaries. I do not know what the purpose of the Senate is. If it is to continue in session I should be glad to have the bill read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the bill.

The Secretary read the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is before the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, and open to amendment. If there be no amendment the bill will be reported to the Senate.

The bill was reported to the Senate.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I certainly hope this bill is not going to be pressed through at this time.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I want to say that I have stated to the Senator from Utah [Mr. Smoot] that the bill would not be voted on this afternoon; and I, of course, do not care to have the bill pressed to its final passage; but I understand there is a communication now about to be read to the Senate, and I will—

Mr. WILLIAMS. Before the Senator proceeds along that line, I want to say, in connection with the pending matter, that I wish he would not press it except when there is a comparatively full Senate, for I should myself like to be heard a little bit upon the lines of not establishing a civil pension list for Government employees until the Government is ready to establish a general superannuation pension for school-teachers and misled preachers and carpenters and blacksmiths and other people, who receive a great deal less pay, and deserve a great deal more credit, than do Federal employees. So I hope the matter will not be pressed at any time when I am out of the Chamber, for I have a few innocuous observations to submit on it, as John Allen used to say.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will announce the parliamentary status of the bill. The bill is in the Senate and is still open to amendment.

Mr. WARREN. I ask the Senator in charge of the bill if he is going to proceed, for, if so, I should like to offer an amendment?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator from Tennessee whether, at this stage of the proceedings, he would not be willing to have the bill temporarily laid aside?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will not be necessary to lay the bill aside. The Senator can take the floor in his own right.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I should like to have the bill laid aside, so that we may have an adjournment immediately afterwards.

Mr. MCKELLAR. Then I will yield with the understanding that the bill will not be displaced by any other business and will be restored as soon as this matter is disposed of.

Mr. WARREN. I wish to have the motion of record, that I offer to amend the bill by striking out, on page 8, lines 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14, and the word "act," on the next line.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from Wyoming is pending. The Senator from Nebraska is recognized.

THE PRESIDENT'S ANSWER TO GERMANY.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, inasmuch as the Senate, when it adjourns to-day is to adjourn until Thursday next, it has seemed to a number of Senators appropriate that the answer which the President of the United States has directed the Secretary of State to send to the German Government, and which has just reached the Senate, be read to the Senate, and in that way enter the Record. With the consent of the Senate I will now read the answer which has been dispatched to Germany through neutral sources to-day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska is recognized to read the President's reply.

Mr. HITCHCOCK read as follows:

"The unqualified acceptance by the present German Government and by a large majority of the German Reichstag of the terms laid down by the President of the United States of America in his address to the Congress of the United States on the 8th of January, 1918, and in his subsequent addresses justifies the President in making a frank and direct statement of his decision with regard to the communications of the German Government of the 8th and 12th of October, 1918.

"It must be clearly understood that the process of evacuation and the conditions of an armistice are matters which must be left to the judgment and advice of the military advisers of the Government of the United States and the allied Governments, and the President feels it is his duty to say that no arrangements can be accepted by the Government of the United States which does not provide absolutely satisfactory safeguards and guaranties of the maintenance of the present military supremacy of the armies of the United States and of the allies in the field. He feels confident that he can safely assume that this will also be the judgment and decision of the allied Governments.

"The President feels that it is also his duty to add that neither the Government of the United States nor, he is quite sure, the governments with which the Government of the United States is associated as a belligerent will consent to consider an armistice so long as the armed forces of Germany continue the illegal and inhumane practices which they still persist in. At the very time that the German Government approaches the Government of the United States with proposals of peace its sub-

marines are engaged in sinking passenger ships at sea, and not the ships alone, but the very boats in which their passengers and crews seek to make their way to safety; and in their present enforced withdrawal from Flanders and France the German armies are pursuing a course of wanton destruction which has always been regarded as in direct violation of the rules and practices of civilized warfare. Cities and villages, if not destroyed, are being stripped of all they contain not only, but often of their very inhabitants. The nations associated against Germany can not be expected to agree to a cessation of arms while acts of inhumanity, spoliation, and desolation are being continued, which they justly look upon with horror and with burning hearts.

"It is necessary also, in order that there may be no possibility of misunderstanding, that the President should very solemnly call the attention of the Government of Germany to the language and plain intent of one of the terms of peace which the German Government has now accepted. It is contained in the address of the President delivered at Mount Vernon on the 4th of July last. It is as follows:

"The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world or, if it can not presently be destroyed, at least its reduction to virtual impotency."

"The power which has hitherto controlled the German nation is of the sort here described. It is within the choice of the German people to alter it. The President's words just quoted naturally constitute a condition precedent to peace if peace is to come by the action of the German people themselves. The President feels bound to say that the whole process of peace will, in his judgment, depend upon the definiteness and the satisfactory character of the guaranties which can be given in this fundamental manner. It is indispensable that the Governments associated against Germany should know beyond a peradventure with whom they are dealing.

"The President will make a separate reply to the Royal and Imperial Government of Austria-Hungary.

"LANSING."

[Applause.]

Mr. MCKELLAR. Mr. President, I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Thursday, October 17, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 14, 1918.

CONSUL.

CLASS 8.

Luther K. Zabriskie, of Norwich, Conn., now vice consul at Aguascalientes, Mexico, to be a consul of class 8 of the United States of America.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Asst. Surg. Clarence H. Waring, to be passed assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from August 21, 1918.

Asst. Surg. George A. Wheeler, to be passed assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from August 22, 1918.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 14, 1918.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE.

G. I. Christie to be Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

Edwin G. Moon to be United States attorney for southern district of Iowa.

POSTMASTERS.

ARIZONA.

Bertha Koepke, Humboldt.

COLORADO.

Clifford I. Parsons, Central City.

CONNECTICUT.

Clarence H. Crandall, Sound Beach.

Evelyn R. Hawes, Noroton Heights.

Weeden F. Sheldon, Moosup.

FLORIDA.

Edwin D. Lambright, Tampa.

James R. Pomeroy, Stuart.

Nelson A. Stumpe, Palatka.

INDIANA.

Mangus P. Halgren, Oxford.
 Reuben Hess, Kentland.
 William B. Latshaw, Oaktown.
 Carl D. McCarthy, Kempton.
 David B. Purinton, Whiting.

KANSAS.

Radia S. Brumfield, Belpre.
 Alonzo Glass, Waverly.
 Mary R. Hale, Dexter.
 Joseph W. Stivers, Stafford.

MISSOURI.

William A. Kirkpatrick, Joplin.
 Obadiah C. Mitchell, Springfield.
 Isaac J. F. Sitzes, Lutesville.
 Francis L. Stufflebam, Bolivar.

MONTANA.

Wilfred J. Hazelton, Townsend.

NEW MEXICO.

James E. Pardue, Fort Sumner.

VIRGINIA.

Walter F. Horne, Coeburn.
 George N. Reed, Reedville.

WASHINGTON.

Arthur A. Barnes, Pasco.
 Clifton A. Battles, Wenatchee.
 Edgar Battle, Seattle.
 George H. Bevan, Kettle Falls.
 James G. Boughter, Mount Vernon.
 Daniel I. Carpenter, Granite Falls.
 John H. Chilberg, La Conner.
 William P. Connors, Almira.
 L. Abram Dale, Brewster.
 George B. Day, Walla Walla.
 James Doherty, Olympia.
 Lutetia M. Fields, Woodland.
 Mae O. Gray, Stevenson.
 Ethel R. Hanks, Port Orchard.
 Maud E. Hays, Starbuck.
 Andrew Hunter, Issaquah.
 Charles O. Jackson, Eatonville.
 Charles C. King, Entiat.
 Charles W. McClure, Washougal.
 John W. Miller, Snohomish.
 Robert Montgomery, Puyallup.
 Samuel S. Moritz, Dayton.
 James F. Payne, Auburn.
 Charles A. Ramm, Davenport.
 William M. Relton, Richland.
 Tolaver T. Richardson, Northport.
 Charles H. Runkel, Arlington.
 James H. Schneckloth, Pomeroy.
 John W. Shaw, Vancouver.
 LeRoy R. Sines, Chelan.
 Bennett O. Skewis, Du Pont.
 Frank L. Stocking, Port Angeles.
 Robert A. Turner, Ellensburg.
 Fred L. Whitney, Ferndale.
 Helen R. Whitney, Wapato.
 James M. G. Wilson, Waterville.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, October 14, 1918.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou Great Spirit, above all, through all, in all, our life, our strength, our faith, our hope, our inspiration, a potent factor therefore in the affairs of men, come now, we beseech Thee, with all Thy holy influence to guide us in this most critical period of the world's history.

The crash of elements, pestilence, war and destruction is abroad in the world.

The air is full of the whisperings of peace, the father of our most sincere desires; but peace can never come until the enemies of humanity shall be brought to unconditional surrender. Then negotiations may be taken up by the entente powers and a peace secured which shall adjust the affairs of men to liberty, justice, truth, righteousness; to the glory and honor of Thy holy name, in Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday was read and approved.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. HELM. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Kentucky rise?

Mr. HELM. Mr. Speaker, I ask permission to extend my remarks in the Record on the preparation for and the prosecution of the war.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask permission to address the House and also to extend my remarks in the Record to set forth what the Navy has accomplished and is accomplishing and what legislation has been passed by Congress in reference to it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, the record made by the United States Navy in this war has not only justified the pride of the American people, but has challenged the admiration of the world. Called upon to perform tremendous tasks, some of them seeming almost impossible, in not one instance has it failed. Whenever any call has come and we asked, "When will you be ready?" as did the British admiral when the first destroyers arrived in European waters, the answer has been, "We are ready now." Ready to face any emergency, ready to cope with any problem with that supreme courage and unflinching efficiency that is the tradition of the service.

The readiness of the Navy for action when the war call came was no surprise to us who were familiar with its workings, the plans that had been made and the measures that had been taken to prepare for any eventuality. We knew that the organization was sound from keel to topmast, that the men at the helm were worthy of every trust. We knew they had been bending their energies to prepare every branch of the Navy for active service.

The broad basis of naval preparedness was laid in the epoch-making naval appropriation bill of August 29, 1916. That bill not only made the largest appropriation on record up to that time, more than \$312,000,000, but it set forth the first consistent, continuing building program ever adopted by Congress, providing for the building, within three years, of no less than 157 war vessels, including every type from battle cruisers to submarines. It furthermore provided for an increase in the Navy to 87,000, whenever, in his judgment, the President should deem such increase necessary; and provided also for the creation of a great Naval Reserve Force and the mustering into the Federal service of Naval Militia in case of war or national emergency. It proved what it was designed to be—a preparedness measure of the highest importance.

Congress in that measure adopted the recommendations Secretary Daniels had made and urged in his annual report of December, 1915, which embodied the best thought and conclusion of the experts of the Navy. The department set to work at once to put its provisions into effect. Contracts were let for battleships, cruisers, destroyers, and submarines. Navy yards increased their force and began enlargements. Munition plants were set to work and stocks of shells and powder were accumulated. When the break with Germany came the machinery of the Navy was in operation, and the plans made long before were soon put into effect.

When the President directed that American merchant vessels be armed to protect them from attack by submarines, his orders were carried into effect without a day's delay. Guns were placed on the first vessel armed, the *Campana*, on March 12, 1917, and in a few weeks scores of ships were armed and furnished gun crews. This was a task no navy had contemplated before the war, for they believed the days of piracy, of sinking ships without warning had vanished long ago, never to return. There were not enough free guns of the proper calibers in existence to arm all vessels. Every available gun was pressed into service, some were even taken from the secondary batteries of battleships and cruisers, to be replaced later when they could be manufactured, and soon every merchantman that applied was given armed protection.

Expert gunners were required for this service and hundreds of the crack marksmen of the warships were detailed for the armed guards on merchantmen. Thousands of gunners had to be trained to take their places and to provide for the hundreds of new ships put into service. The rapid training of gunners

and the record made by these armed guards are among the notable achievements of this war. When war was declared the Navy was ready for action. It was so well prepared that when the fleet was mobilized Admiral Mayo is quoted as saying, "I scarcely had to give an order."

The submarine being the immediate menace, the first duty was to combat it by every means in our power. While it was realized that the Germans might at any time send their U boats across the Atlantic to threaten commerce on our own coasts, our naval authorities did not hesitate in their decision not to wait for the submarines, but to "go after" them. A flotilla of destroyers was immediately organized and equipped for foreign service. Little more than a fortnight after war was declared the first contingent sailed, arriving at Queenstown May 4, 1917. Since that time our forces abroad have been constantly increased, until there are now in service in European waters more than 250 naval vessels, including every type, from battleships to submarine chasers, and under Vice Admiral Sims's command is a force of nearly 50,000 officers and men—as many as were in the entire Navy a few years ago.

There are now 600,000 officers and men in the naval service, including marines—more than were in all the navies in the world when the European war began. Before the break with Germany, in January, 1917, the Navy had a total of 56,000 officers and men, and the Marine Corps fewer than 12,000. In the weeks following recruiting was active, and when the President, in March, issued the order for the increase to the full authorized strength recruits poured in, so that when a state of war was declared April 6, 1917, there were 64,680 enlisted men and 4,366 officers in the regular Navy, totaling 69,046, and 13,266 enlisted men and 426 officers in the Marine Corps, totaling 13,692. Some 10,000 men had been enrolled in the Naval Reserve force, which a few months before had comprised only a few hundreds. The Naval Reserves were called into service; the Naval Militia, 10,000 officers and men, were mustered in as National Naval Volunteers; and the Coast Guard, with its 5,000, came under the operation of the Navy for the period of the war, as provided by law. This gave us a total force of approximately 100,000 upon our entrance into the war.

The growth of the Navy has been remarkably rapid, the strength of the various branches of the service now being as follows:

	Enlisted men.	Officers.	Total.
Regular Navy.....	218,322	9,411	227,733
Naval Reserve Force.....	270,424	19,619	290,043
Marine Corps.....	66,105	2,271	68,376
Coast Guard.....	6,106	665	6,771
Total officers and men.....	560,957	31,966	592,923

There are to-day 1,800 vessels in full commission, ten times as many as were in service two years ago, nearly six times as many as were on the naval lists. When war was imminent, ships that were in reserve were quickly manned and placed in full commission. Hundreds of merchant vessels, yachts, fishing vessels, motor boats, and other available craft were acquired and converted into the various types of auxiliary and patrol vessels required, work was rushed on ships under construction, and contracts were given for practically all the naval vessels American yards could build. The interned German vessels, whose machinery had been badly damaged by their crews in the hope of preventing their use, were repaired and within a few months all were in service, the larger vessels being converted into troop transports, officered and manned by the Navy.

Destroyers having proved the most effective type of vessel for combating the submarine, orders were given early in the war for the construction of all which the shipyards, with their then existing facilities, could build. But there was a demand for many more, and broad plans were made for the enlargement of yards and the erection of new shipbuilding and engine plants. The act of October 6, 1917, authorized the expenditure of \$350,000,000 for the building of additional destroyers and the increase of facilities. Contracts were given at once, new shipways erected, and at Squantum, Mass., there was erected the largest plant in the world devoted exclusively to the building of destroyers. Little more than half a year after work was begun on this plant the keels of five destroyers were laid there in a single day. The first was launched on July 18, and will be delivered completed within a year from the time the contract was given to convert the swampy land of Squantum Point into a shipbuilding plant.

New records have been made in construction. Formerly 20 months to 2 years was the period required to complete a destroyer. Now some are being completed in half that time, and less. At the Mare Island Navy Yard the *Ward* was launched 17½ days after her keel was laid, and she was commissioned in 70 days. Fourteen destroyers were launched on July 4 last. We are now building more destroyers than were in any two navies when the European war began; and when we consider that a large part of the facilities for building them had to be created in the past year, the record in construction reflects great credit upon naval constructors and shipbuilders alike.

Hundreds of submarine chasers have been completed and put into service and numerous auxiliary and patrol craft built. Vessels of all types, from battleships to submarines, have been completed and put into commission. Hundreds of others of every type are under construction or contract, and our building program is the largest ever undertaken by any navy. The naval appropriation act passed last June directed the completion at the earliest time practicable of all the vessels authorized in the three-year building program embodied in the act of August 29, 1916, and the Secretary of the Navy has assured us that these will be built "as soon as is humanly possible."

The provision of engines and machinery for the enormous number of new vessels has been a tremendous undertaking. Especially has this been the case in providing engines for the new destroyers, which have a speed of 35 knots and require greatly increased power and twice the number of boilers as the older type. New engine and forging plants had to be erected, in addition to utilizing all the available producing capacity of the plants which could build engines and machinery of this type. Some idea of the amount of machinery required for our naval vessels can be given by the fact that the average expenditures of the Bureau of Steam Engineering have increased to nearly three-quarters of a million dollars a day.

The United States Navy now operates the largest radio system in existence. Within the past year stations of the highest power have been completed at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii; Cavite, P. I.; and Annapolis, Md. The completion of the new station at Annapolis recently was signalized by the sending direct of messages to Rome, Paris, and London. Messages are flashed from the Atlantic coast to Pearl Harbor, and from there to Cavite or Japan. Previous to our entrance into the war the number of naval radio installations afloat and ashore numbered about 300. It is now between 4,000 and 5,000, all the shore stations being under control of the Navy, which also furnishes equipment and operators for cargo vessels and transports, as well as naval vessels.

Upon the declaration of war the control of all radio was placed under the Navy. Commercial stations were taken over. Those that were unnecessary were closed, and those which could be utilized to advantage were made a part of the vast system which has been built up covering a large part of the globe. Thousands of operators were required for service at stations and on ships, and special schools for their training were established, the largest, that at Harvard University, having provision for some 4,000 students.

The work of the Bureau of Ordnance has increased almost 2,000 per cent in the past year and a half. For the two or three years previous to the war its average expenditures were about \$30,000,000 a year. For the fiscal year 1918 they amounted to practically \$600,000,000, twenty times the ordinary expenditures in time of peace. And this is a fair measure of the work done in providing guns, projectiles, powder, torpedoes, depth charges, mines, and armor plate for naval vessels, arming merchantmen for protection against attack by submarines, and the various other tasks imposed upon this branch of the service. As early as 1915 the bureau had drafted its plans in preparation for war, if it should come, and before the declaration of war had accumulated considerable reserves of munitions. The bureau operates many ordnance plants and factories, some of which are owned by the Government, others have been requisitioned or are operated under contract, and in addition vast quantities of material have been purchased under contract. The Naval Gun Factory, at Washington, has almost doubled its output and now employs nearly 9,000 men. Fifteen acres of adjoining land have been purchased and six large buildings are nearing completion thereon, which will greatly increase the capacity of the plant. Considerable enlargements are being made in the Navy powder factory at Indianhead, Md., which employs 1,100 men and covers a square mile. The facilities and output of the torpedo station at Newport, R. I., have been materially increased.

An automatic mine-loading plant, with a capacity of more than 1,000 mines a day, has been created. Numerous ammuni-

tion depots have been established, which prepare powder charges, load and fuse shells, handle high explosives, and ship ammunition to vessels. A large projectile factory has been erected at Charleston, W. Va., and has been in operation for several months. The designs for the armor-plate factory to be erected at that point have been entirely completed, and much of the machinery is now on order. A large tract of land along the Potomac River has been acquired and a new proving ground is being established. Some of the most important accomplishments of the Ordnance Bureau can not be told at present, without disclosing important naval operations, nor can numerous inventions that have been developed and utilized be discussed in detail. But we may mention the new Navy 16-inch gun, the most powerful Navy gun under construction or designed for use at sea, so far as is known, which was successfully completed and tested last April. A new type of howitzer shooting a heavy depth charge fitted to detonate below the water or in contact with the submarine is one of the devices developed which is aiding in exterminating the German U-boats. Depth charges, which have proved so effective against the submarine, have been produced in quantities. A new type of mine, which is considered one of the safest to handle and which, if it breaks loose from its fastening and drifts, is rendered harmless, and yet is one of the most effective weapons of the kind in existence, has been invented and many thousands manufactured.

To house and train the immense increase in personnel, existing training stations were greatly enlarged and a number of new ones erected. Two years ago the Navy had training facilities for about 6,000 men. The camps already constructed provide winter accommodations for 145,000, and those being built or authorized will provide for 53,000 more. The total cost of these training camps will be about \$57,000,000. Great Lakes is now the largest training station in the world, with accommodations for some 50,000, and further enlargements are under way. The acquisition of the old Jamestown Exposition site and Pine Beach properties has enabled the Navy to establish at Hampton Roads, Va., a naval operating base, which includes an extensive training station, aviation base, and will comprise docks and wharves for the accommodation of the largest vessels, warehouses and storage facilities for fuel and all kinds of fleet supplies, and will provide what the Navy had long needed, an operating base for the fleet.

Our navy yards have been greatly enlarged, and have not only carried on the immense amount of work required for the upkeep of the fleet and the conversion of vessels taken over, but are building naval vessels of practically every type. The number of employees at navy yards has been more than doubled. Many new machine shops, foundries, and warehouses have been erected, and new shipways built. Dry docks are being built which will accommodate the largest ships afloat. The new dry dock at Norfolk is nearing completion and is expected to be in service within the next few months, practically a year ahead of contract. The dry dock at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, in the construction of which many difficulties were encountered, is expected to be completed early in the coming year. Scores of warehouses for the storage of supplies and munitions have been erected, including the largest of the kind in existence, at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

Every care has been taken to safeguard the health of the men in the Navy, both ashore and aboard ship. Six thousand additional beds have been provided to meet the immediate needs of war conditions and about 6,000 more are being provided for under present construction or contracts. In addition extensive hospital facilities have been acquired abroad to accommodate the large force in foreign service. The Medical Corps, which formerly numbered about 300 commissioned officers, now consist of 3,000, an increase of ten times its former personnel. The Dental Corps has grown from 30 officers to 500 members. Ample medical supplies have been accumulated and there has been no lack of medical attendance or supplies either in this country or abroad. Every possible precaution for the prevention, as well as the control, of diseases has been taken, and early in the war a special division of sanitation was created, to which experts of the Public Health Service were detailed to insure the best sanitary conditions at every point where sailors or marines were stationed.

When war was declared, April 6, 1917, the Navy passed from a peace to a war basis without an hour's delay. The submarine being the immediate menace and to combat it the first duty, it was decided to send as many destroyers as possible across the sea for service in the war zone. A flotilla of destroyers was immediately organized and equipped for foreign service, and the first contingent sailed a little more than a fortnight after war was declared, arriving at Queenstown May 4. Since that time our naval forces in European waters have been continually

augmented until now we have more than 250 vessels, including all types from battleships to submarine chasers, and a force of more than 45,000 officers and men under command of Vice Admiral Sims. British and French naval authorities have paid the highest tributes to their energy, enterprise and effectiveness in conveying troop and supply ships and merchant vessels, in patrolling vast sea areas, and in destroying submarines. Just how many U-boats they have destroyed can not now be announced, but it is known that they have accounted for a very material number of them. Only a few days ago American submarine chasers took part in the destruction of the Austrian naval base at Durazzo, screened larger ships under a hot enemy fire, sank one submarine and damaged and probably destroyed another; and this was in the Adriatic, in an area in which few people realized that our Navy was operating.

From the far North, along the coasts of England and France and Portugal, in the Mediterranean and Adriatic our forces are constantly at work. They sometimes call it the "silent Navy," for cloak of secrecy must necessarily cover many of its operations, but whenever and wherever its services are required it is heard from, and always acquits itself with the credit that courage and efficiency demand, upholding the traditions of the service.

The greatest task intrusted to the Navy, and what has well been called "the biggest transportation job in history," is the transportation of our armies overseas, and the way in which it has been accomplished is without a parallel. For a year and a half a continuous stream of transports has poured across the seas to France. Despite the constant menace of submarines and the difficulties of navigation under war conditions, not a single American troop ship under the convoy of our naval vessels has been sunk on the way to France, and not one soldier aboard them has been lost through enemy action. In this tremendous task the British Navy has given us the most valuable assistance, placing at our disposal a large amount of tonnage and carrying hundreds of thousands of American troops. Without their assistance we could not have placed on the fighting front anything like as many men as are there now, and they deserve our warmest gratitude. The French and Italians have also given material aid. All the allied navies have worked together with the same purpose and aim, each aiding the other in every possible way. There are now nearly 2,000,000 American soldiers either in France or on the way, and the total loss of life due to enemy submarine activity has been less than 300 men.

The administration of the Navy Department has been characterized by signal efficiency in every bureau and division. Long before we entered the war deadwood and red tape had been cut out and the department put on a thorough working basis. The machinery was so well organized that when the heavy demands of the war emergency came all that was needed was to expand the personnel and equipment. The Navy has promptly met every demand made upon it, it has responded without delay to every call, and no necessity has been found for any change in its organization. It has successfully met the severe tests, and this is the highest possible tribute to its efficiency and the ability of its officials.

Two years ago, just before the final passage of the naval act of August 29, 1916, the largest ever passed up to that time, I had the pleasure of reviewing before this House the progress of the Navy. I pointed out that during the 16 years from 1898 to 1913 the total tonnage authorized amounted to only 1,116,018 tons, while in the years 1914-1916, 1,014,666 tons had been authorized. During the McKinley-Roosevelt administration, from March 4, 1901, to March 4, 1905, the total cost of vessels authorized amounted to \$107,006,642; during the Roosevelt administration, from March 4, 1905, to March 4, 1909, the total amounted to \$83,192,938; under the Taft administration, from March 4, 1909, to March 4, 1913, \$127,747,113. During the first three years of the Wilson administration the total cost of vessels authorized amounted to \$655,289,806. Though the authorized strength of the Navy was only 51,500, until the present administration it had never been recruited up to its full strength. In fact on March 4, 1913, the Navy was 5,312 men short of its authorized strength. The efforts of Secretary Daniels and his aids to popularize the naval service, to provide greater opportunities for the enlisted men, bore such good fruit that over 6,000 men were added to the enlisted strength and the Navy was kept fully recruited.

The improvements in organization and administration, and the liberal appropriations made by Congress laid the basis for that preparedness which was so strikingly apparent when the Navy was called into action. The wisdom of Secretary Daniels's policy of expanding our shipyards, of having the Navy not only build ships but manufacture in its own shops munitions and many other things needed by the Navy was immediately vin-

dictated when war came. It is not difficult to picture the plight in which we would have found ourselves if the policy of closing and dismantling a number of our navy yards and depending almost entirely upon private firms and shipyards had prevailed. Our navy yards have proved a very present help in time of need. Well manned and well equipped, they have, by increasing their working forces and buildings and machinery, been able to care for the enormous amount of repair work to keep in shipshape the vastly increased fleet, and their shipways and shops have proved a very substantial addition to the shipbuilding facilities we sorely needed.

The retention of competent men by reenlistment, the careful training of the personnel, gave us a body of trained seamen that formed a valuable basis for the immense Navy of to-day. Sir Eric Geddes, the first lord of the British Admiralty, on his arrival a few days ago, remarked:

The dauntless determination which the United States has displayed in creating a huge trained body of seamen out of landsmen is one of the most striking accomplishments of the war. Had it not been effectively done one would have thought it impossible, and words fail me to express our admiration of this feat, undertaken and accomplished by your Navy Department, of which Mr. Secretary Daniels is the civil chief.

This was made possible only by the excellent system of training that had been built up in previous years and the plan of intensive instruction which was made to put into effect in the emergency of war.

Recently when I was abroad in England, France, and Italy there was one unbroken and unanimous expression of wonder and appreciation of the magnitude and the rapidity of the achievements of the United States in the Army, the Navy, and the Marine Corps, and everyone was unstinted in his commendation and praise.

Feeding and clothing the half million men in the Navy has been a task of huge proportions well performed. Despite the many difficulties of securing supplies and materials, the high standard has been maintained, and we have sustained our reputation of having "the best fed, best clad Navy in the world." The volume of purchases by the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts has grown from a prewar sum of \$27,000,000 per annum to over half a billion dollars a year. By the use of the widest information in regard to supplies and materials, keeping in close touch with the sources of production, broadening competitive bidding, and using war-time powers, profiteering has been prevented and Navy purchasing put on a scientific basis.

The Navy ration has been maintained steadily at its usual high standard. Importunities to lower the Navy's specifications for food provisions and to adopt substitutes have been resisted, and there is no variation whatever in either quality or quantity and variety of ration. It is as it existed before the war.

While the average cost of the rations increased about 13 per cent over the cost last year, it has been shown by the Department of Labor that there was an 18 per cent rise in average wholesale prices, so that had the cost of the ration kept pace with the increase in the cost of provisions, the total cost to the Government would have been about a million and a half dollars more than it actually was—this means a daily saving of \$4,500.

Reports received from commanding officers of our transports, bearing troops for France, amply attest the fact that the men have been well satisfied with the food furnished them. As an instance of this the following is quoted from a report made by the officer in charge of the transport *Mercury*:

The food supplied the troops during the voyage has been well cooked, most excellent in quality, the variety has been well maintained, and it has been ample in quantity. No man has been turned away no matter how many times he appeared for reissue of food at any meal.

Recently on a transport 11,000 troops were served dinner in the remarkably short period of one hour and seven minutes.

Anticipation of the requirements of material resulted in great advantage to the Navy. Thus, in regard to cloth alone, the Navy will not have to enter the market again until May, 1919. This purchase, amounting to \$17,000,000, resulted in yardage sufficient to manufacture a million blouses, 800,000 pairs of trousers, and 350,000 overcoats.

Competitive bidding has prevailed and the widest publicity is sought in connection with all purchasing. By maintaining a rigidly supervised list of qualified bidders great progress has been made in eliminating the middle man while contingent-fee attorneys and brokers have been exposed.

A successful means of readjusting prices downward has been effected by the Navy supplying raw material to the manufacturers who had the facilities for fabricating but who were not able to obtain the raw article.

The commandeering power was most successfully used in the fall of 1917 when the tin market was mounting rapidly. By taking over cargoes and apportioning among a few concerns

an instance is shown where the Navy secured tin at 64 cents a pound when the market was 80. The soundness of this policy is found in a letter written to the Secretary of the Navy by the chairman of the Price Fixing Committee, in which he states—

Manufacturers waste time in attempting to extort unfair prices from the Navy, as it seems to keep itself exceptionally well informed and uses the commandeering privileges to secure fair prices.

To facilitate the shipment of supplies and materials for the Navy a division of inland transportation was formed with the result that little trouble was experienced in the war-program traffic.

Of great interest to the dependents of our men are the allotments made by the personnel of the Navy. During the fiscal year there were paid 849,000 allotments amounting to over \$19,000,000.

It is worthy of prominent note that the Navy subscribed to a sum of over \$18,500,000 in the third liberty loan, and that every navy yard in the country gave subscriptions from more than 80 per cent of its employees, and reports are that its subscription to the fourth loan will exceed the third.

Activities of the disbursing division have resulted in the actual saving to the Navy of \$11,000,000. This control has been exercised without friction, ways being found to prevent the Government's money from being wasted without interfering with the work.

Recently, in company with 12 other members of the Committee on Naval Affairs, I made a visit overseas, going into Scotland, England, Ireland, France, and Italy, where we had opportunity to visit and make inspection of some of the activities of the English Navy and of many of the activities of the United States Navy abroad.

I do not deem it appropriate or advisable because of war conditions to speak in detail of these activities in the war zone in more specific detail than I have set out herein. However, I do deem it appropriate to say that we found the operations of the United States Navy overseas in a most satisfactory condition. We were especially pleased to learn from our own officers, as well as the officers of the English, French, and Italian Navies, that the cooperation between the several navies was most complete, cordial, and harmonious; indeed, they all spoke of it as the one naval service of the three countries and not as three separate naval services. We were also well pleased with the intelligent and efficient management and with the zeal, energy, and devotion of our officers.

No statement can be made at this time in detail of the magnitude of the naval operations overseas. This much, however, I feel justified in saying: That the magnitude of naval operations overseas, on the water and in the air, reflects credit upon the American people and commands the respect and the admiration of our allies. When the war is over and the full history of the magnitude of our naval operations abroad may be given in detail, it will be a source of pride and honor to the American people; and the fidelity, intelligence, patriotism, and devotion of our naval officers and enlisted men, embracing as a part of the Navy the Marine Corps officers and men, will form a bright page in the world's history and will receive throughout future ages the commendation and plaudits of all who admire courage and intelligence and love patriotism and fidelity.

The Marines on land and the Navy men on sea and in the air in the various lines of work and duty to which they have been detailed deserve, and I believe heartily receive, the unanimous commendation of the American people. Well done, faithful officers and men.

In order that the Congress and the country might have full and detailed information concerning the operations of the Navy and the Marine Corps, I have had prepared by the chiefs of the several bureaus a statement showing the work and the operations of the Navy in connection with this war, and I attach them hereto as a part of my remarks:

OFFICE OF NAVAL OPERATIONS.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NAVAL AVIATION.

Previous to the declaration of war the Navy had maintained but one air station. This was a small but complete and active station at Pensacola, Fla., which was used for instruction and experimental work. The personnel of aviation at this time consisted of about 30 line officers of the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, who were trained as aviators, and 300 men. The aircraft in use consisted of a variety of American and foreign types which had been purchased by the department. Owing to the limited facilities and small appropriations, the results of these activities were not very extensive.

The Naval Reserve Flying Corps was established by law in 1916, but it was not until February, 1917, that a definite interpretation was placed on this law and that enrollments in the Naval Reserve Flying Corps actually began. The officers who received training in aviation had been regarded as having been detailed for special duty in connection with aviation. The law passed by Congress in 1916 authorizing the Naval Reserve included not only a reserve to be attached to the fleet but the Naval Reserve Flying Corps. Accordingly when war was declared steps were taken to enroll and train a large number of men for

ultimate qualification as pilots. In addition, facilities were provided for the training of a large number of men specialized in the various functions pertaining to aviation, and at the present time schools are in operation for the training of pilots, mechanics, gas-engine experts, communication officers, etc.

On October 2, 1918, the total strength of naval aviation was approximately 40,333 officers and men. Of this number, 16,621 are now abroad and actively engaged in operations against the enemy. This increase in the aviation personnel of the Navy since the beginning of the war has called for an enormous expansion of training facilities. When the training program was first put into operation there was but one ground school. This school provided at that time training facilities for about 300 men. At the present time this number has been increased to 1,200, and, in addition, schools have been established in the Central West and near the Pacific coast. For the training of dirigible pilots a school was established in Ohio, and the department is now contemplating the establishment of an additional school.

It was evident to naval authorities that one of the most important ways of assisting the allies was to engage immediately in the anti-submarine warfare. In order to bring the United States to the point where the most good could be accomplished with the facilities immediately available various methods of combating the submarine were carefully considered. As a result, it was decided to establish coastal patrol stations, both in this country and abroad.

Construction on stations in the United States was started immediately, and to-day practically the entire eastern Atlantic coast is being patrolled by naval aircraft, and the Navy Department is prepared to extend these operations along the Gulf and Pacific coasts. In addition to seaplane-patrol stations, dirigible and kite-balloon stations have been put into operation, and, in order to attain the greatest possible efficiency and cruising radius for seaplanes, rest and supply stations are being located at the most advantageous points.

The increase in the number of stations abroad has been fully as great. The month following the declaration of war 5 naval aviators and 100 enlisted men were sent abroad, and these forces were the first forces of the United States to land in France for service against the enemy. The bodies of three of these men are now buried in France and two others were killed in seaplane accidents. Since the arrival of this first expedition abroad, stations have been established not only in France but in England, Ireland, and Italy as well. In order to appreciate more fully the magnitude of this achievement, it may be said that it has been necessary to ship from the United States practically all the material for these stations, which includes hangars, machinery, and, in a word, everything that will eventually be used at these points.

During the month of September, 1918, aircraft engaged in patrol flights in the United States covered a total distance of 404,775 miles. Aircraft engaged in training flights covered a total of 1,317,460 miles during the same period. It is not considered advisable to give out actual figures regarding the operations at foreign stations. The work abroad has gone forward steadily and the results obtained are becoming more and more important. A recent announcement by the Navy Department to the effect that American naval aircraft successfully attacked and destroyed a German submarine is only one illustration of the work that is being done over there. The stations, in addition to carrying out active anti-submarine patrols, have been engaged in assisting vessels of the fleet in conveying troop and merchant ships.

On April 27, 1918, an American dirigible abroad made a continuous flight for 25 hours and 43 minutes, during the course of which three convoys were escorted for 13 hours and 50 minutes in a zone which was mined and patrolled. In recognition of this accomplishment the French minister of the marine officially complimented the American forces saying that "such an ascension of 25 hours and 43 minutes, which constitutes by its duration a remarkable performance, gives us proof of the most excellent qualities of endurance, of energy, of sang-froid, and of technical ability of the American forces."

In addition to the activities mentioned above the Navy Department decided to organize an expedition to destroy enemy submarine and naval bases. The personnel and material of this expedition was organized in the United States and later sent abroad. On August 15, 1918, it was announced that operations had been started by bombing and destroying enemy bases in Belgium. The scope of the activities of the expedition have since been increased and the original forces augmented from time to time.

When war was declared on April 6, 1917, 93 heavier-than-air seaplanes had previously been delivered to the Navy and about 135 were on order. Of the number that had previously been delivered, only 21 were in use, the remainder having been worn out or lost. These seaplanes were of the N-3 and R-6 types, which are now considered as training seaplanes.

After eliminating types which had been tried and found unsuitable, the department fixed upon two sizes for war purposes which had been perfected in the United States in anticipation of the development of a high-powered engine. The engine developed is the Liberty. The flying boat which at the present time is strongly favored is an American conception and it has not been necessary to copy foreign patterns to insure our fliers being supplied with the best. With this development of the heavier-than-air craft came the development of dirigibles and kite balloons.

With the development of suitable planes and engines the Navy was able to select the type of aircraft which was best suited for its service and to frame a large and definite building program. As a result there are now over 500 seaplanes in use at naval air stations in the United States and up to date in 400 seaplanes have been sent abroad. Other aircraft at stations, both in this country and abroad, includes dirigibles and kite balloons. There has been no undue delay in supplying seaplanes, and the delivery of service seaplanes is approximately one month ahead of the scheduled time.

The demand for aircraft necessitated an enormous increase of production facilities, and, as a part of this extension, the Navy Department undertook to build and equip a naval aircraft factory at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. Within 90 days from the date the land had been assigned, the factory was erected and the keel of the first flying boat was laid down. In August, 1918, this factory was producing 50 per cent more seaplanes than it had been two months previous. In addition, at least five plants are at present devoted to Navy work and a large proportion of the output of several other factories has been assigned to the Navy.

The delivery of seaplanes for training purposes has been sufficient to more than meet the requirements. The training of personnel and providing of stations and equipment to carry out this training has expanded sufficiently so that the present output of pilots, observers, mechanics, and men trained in special branches is keeping abreast or ahead of requirements.

The confidential nature of the work prevents any definite statement being made as to future operations. However, it may be said that the Navy Department recently established several air stations in Canada. These stations have been supplied with personnel and material from the United States, and the Navy Department is at present engaged in training personnel for the Canadian Government, which personnel will eventually take over the operation of the stations. In addition, the governments of our allies have requested the Navy Department to take over more stations abroad, and not only are they desired to continue present operations, but also to increase the field of their activities.

BUREAU OF NAVIGATION.

Just before the entrance of the United States in the war, or in January of last year, the Navy had a total of 56,000 officers and men of all kinds. To-day there are 520,000 officers and men, which include Reserves and Coast Guard—all volunteers. This number does not include the personnel of the Marine Corps.

Commissioned and enlisted personnel on January of last year were assigned by this bureau to a total of 176 vessels in commission. There are to-day 1,800 vessels in full commission, with complete complements of officers and men and with excess personnel on each ship to provide for training. The vessels commissioned include battleships, submarines, cruisers, destroyers, transports, hospital ships, patrol vessels, mine layers, mine sweepers, submarine chasers, converted yachts, gunboats, fuel and supply ships, cargo carriers, etc.

Just prior to the beginning of the war the Bureau of Navigation, which has charge of the recruiting, education, and training of all officers and men and their assignment to the fighting vessels of the Navy, started a carefully considered system of intensive training to provide for the great need for efficient personnel during the war. An estimate of war needs was accurately drawn up and schools for special ratings were immediately started. At the same time the training stations, which could accommodate but 6,000 men, were enlarged and additional training depots erected, until now they can accommodate over 100,000 men in training.

The assistance of universities and schools throughout the country was obtained in order to train men for special ratings along technical lines in which these educational institutions excelled, but the schools established at the training stations covered the great majority of the ratings necessary for the fighting work of the fleet. At the training stations there are schools for practically all the trades, including courses for divers, electricians, radio men, carpenters, machinists, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, bakers, cooks, stewards, Hospital Corps men, fuel-oil men, winch men, camoufleurs, musicians, yeomen, gunners, signalmen, steel and concrete construction men, water tenders, firemen, quartermasters, helmsmen, gyro-compass men, lookouts, armed-guard crews, submarine crews, motor-boat men, hydroplane specialists, torpedo men, aviators, aviator mechanics of all classes, etc.

Training was also started in the battle fleet, and, under the able direction of the commander in chief, Admiral Mayo, every vessel of the Navy, at home and abroad, is now an active training unit for both officers and men in addition to carrying out its main mission of immediate readiness for battle. Trained destroyer, submarine, and patrol boat officers and men from the war zone are being constantly brought back as nucleus crews to man many of the new vessels being put into commission, and the battleships and other vessels of the fleet are turning out specially trained crews for new battleships and other vessels of the fleet and are providing the armed guards for every vessel that visits the war zone.

It is because of the strict adherence to the carefully prepared plans of the bureau in regard to providing trained personnel for the enormous expansion of the Navy from 56,000 to 520,000 that the Navy has been able to satisfactorily meet every call for manning new vessels and for providing the necessary skilled officers and men for all the detailed work of aviation, mining, bombing, and other operations abroad.

The reports from the commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet and from all commanders of forces abroad show that the various units composing the Navy have reached a higher state of battle efficiency than ever before. Further, the system of providing and training personnel is now operating on the assumption that the war will last for several years, and every detail of the needs for 18 months to come has been carefully considered and prepared for.

In the transport service alone, which includes all the convoy and escort system, and which, under Rear Admiral Gleeves, has produced such remarkable results in safely delivering enormous numbers of troops and quantities of supplies on the other side, there are to-day more officers and men than there were in the entire Navy just prior to the beginning of the war. The same statement applies equally to the forces actually operating in the war zone on the other side.

It is proper to state that the successful operation of all activities assigned to the Navy during the war is directly due to the system of training of officers and men, in which this country has excelled for many years past.

The measure of the efficiency of the Navy is the efficiency of its personnel.

BUREAU OF SUPPLIES AND ACCOUNTS.

At the beginning of the war the enlisted strength of the Navy was approximately 60,000 men; since that time the Navy has increased by leaps and bounds until to-day, a year and a half since war was declared on Germany, we have an enlisted strength of approximately half a million. The work of feeding and clothing the greatly increased Navy proceeded with orderly precision and all of the men have been satisfactorily outfitted with clothing adequate for their needs in every respect. All of the clothing provided for the men has been up to the usual high Navy standard, the inspections never having for a moment been relaxed in any degree.

The Navy ration since the war has been maintained at its usual high standard and this factor has greatly contributed to the excellent physical condition which characterizes the health of the Navy to-day. Although constant importunities have been made to lower the Navy's specifications for provisions and to adopt food substitutes, all such importunities were successfully resisted and there is no variation in the quality, quantity, and variety of the Navy ration as it existed before the war.

Great pressure has been brought to bear on the Navy to lower the specifications for beef and to accept carcass beef of a minimum weight of 475 pounds, which is 100 pounds less than that required under the Navy specifications. The first request to lower the specifications was accompanied by a statement to the effect that there was a threatened shortage in the immediate future of beef of Navy specification weight and as a result the Federal Trade Commission was requested to investi-

gates the entire beef situation. Upon receipt of the report of the Federal Trade Commission and after an exchange of views with the Food Administration the following resolution with reference to beef for the Navy was adopted by the Food Purchase Board:

"It is requested that the Food Administration preempt for and allot to the Army, Navy, and fighting forces of our allies a sufficient quantity of beef weighing 775 pounds up to 850 pounds to fill their demands.

"If there be not enough beef of these weights procurable, then the Food Administration is requested to allot, after giving notice to the War Department and the Navy Department, lighter beef of proper quality sufficient to meet such deficiency, keeping the weights of the allotted beef as near as possible to the minimum mentioned above—this lighter-weight beef to be distributed pro rata between the Army, the Navy, and the allied fighting forces on the basis of their total demands.

"During such time, however, as a shortage of heavyweight beef may exist, the Food Administration is requested to take the necessary steps to prevent any such heavyweight beef from being diverted to the civilian populations either within the United States or abroad.

"The quality of all allotted beef to be passed upon by the inspectors for the Army and Navy in accordance with specifications and instructions issued to them by their respective departments.

While the average cost of the ration increased about 13 per cent over the cost last year, statistics from the official bulletin issued by the Department of Labor indicate that there was a rise in the average wholesale prices of provisions of 18 per cent; so that, had the cost of the ration kept pace with the increase in the cost of provisions the total cost to the Government would have been about a million and a half dollars more than it actually was—this meaning a saving of about \$4,500 a day.

As stated by the Secretary of the Navy, "the success of the transfer of the Army troops will depend to a large extent on the conduct of the commissary service on each vessel." Keeping this fact in mind, plans were made well in advance of the initial trip of the transports bearing troops for France and complete and satisfactory arrangements for the subsistence of the troops en route were made. The reports received from the commanding officers of the troops on board the transports amply attest the fact that the troops are well satisfied with the food furnished them, the following having been received from the commanding officer of the troops en route on the transport *Mercury*:

"The food supplied the troops during the voyage has been well cooked, most excellent in quality, the variety has been well maintained, and it has been ample in quantity. No man has been turned away, no matter how many times he appeared for resupply of food at any meal."

On one transport recently 11,000 troops were served dinner in the remarkably short period of one hour and seven minutes.

PURCHASE DIVISION.

The volume of purchasing done in Supplies and Accounts has grown from a prewar sum of \$27,000,000 per annum to over half a billion per annum. Although the general fundamental principles of Navy peace-time purchasing, definite standards of quality, adequate inspection, etc., have been maintained, it has been necessary by reason of changed conditions in industry to make use of a war-time power of fixing fair and just prices on the basis of cost of production plus a reasonable profit in connection with the purchase of many commodities. Competition which in time of peace assured reasonable prices became inadequate in time of war. In addition, the changed conditions have made necessary the use of the war-time power to compel performance. The developments of the year in the observance of these fundamentals and the new experience gathered in the use of war-time powers have added greatly to the store of purchasing knowledge. The records already were so complete as to warrant the statement that "Navy purchasing has been a science."

Personnel: The purchasing staff of the Navy has increased over 1,400 per cent during the year. From a prewar force of 28 officers, clerks, stenographers, and civilian experts, the purchasing force of the Navy has increased to a present total of 402. It is interesting to note in this connection that practically the entire purchasing staff of to-day was untrained, without previous purchasing experience in the Navy.

Major phases of purchasing: The story of the Navy purchasing system may be briefly summarized under five heads:

- (a) The building up of an organization for specializing in various lines of commodities, thus forming a basis for coordinating all governmental purchasing.
- (b) Developments in competitive bidding.
- (c) War-time means of securing material.
- (d) Determination of "fair and just" prices.
- (e) Stock upkeep in war.

Studies in material: With purchases amounting to more than a million and one-half dollars a day, the need for an organization of specialists was early seen. For each important industry, the purchasing organization has had its specialist who has been charged with a thorough knowledge of the facts in each industry, labor supply, raw materials, fuel power, finances, together with the capacity of the industry for production. Anticipation of the requirements of this material by these specialists has resulted to the advantage of the Navy.

The value of a specialized study of the Nation's capacity for production may be seen in the following typical case in connection with textiles:

In August last, 10,000,000 yards of duck and 6,500,000 yards of denim were purchased prior to the taking over by the Army of the Nation's entire production until March, 1919. Five million yards of 11-ounce, 18-ounce, and 30-ounce cloth were bought, being the largest purchases of uniform cloth ever contemplated by the Navy and requiring an expenditure of \$17,000,000. To make the cloth 15,000,000 pounds of grease wool was used, which resulted in a yardage sufficient for the manufacture of 1,000,000 blouses, 800,000 pairs of trousers, and 350,000 overcoats. By thus anticipating requirements, it will be unnecessary for the Navy to enter the market again for cloth until May, 1919. By adding 2,000,000 yards of 11-ounce, 400,000 yards of 18-ounce, and 600,000 yards of 30-ounce material, Navy contracts were out of the way of the Army before its expanded program was adopted.

Material sections: Special groups (steel and iron, chemicals and explosives, nonferrous metals, textiles, lumber, provisions, etc.) are maintained in the purchasing organization. These groups have been built around men expert in their particular specialty. Other groups are added from time to time as the war demands for any material assume special importance in purchasing operations. As a result of the extension of a policy of organization along material lines to other war agencies of the Government, it has been possible to make all Navy purchases through a Navy organization without conflict.

Developments in competitive bidding: The Navy system of obtaining material by competitive bidding had been thoroughly developed before the war, and was well known to industry. There have been no im-

portant changes in principle nor in practice other than those of gradual and orderly expansion. The pressure of war demand has in no way modified the principle that Navy business must not only be right but must look right. The widest possible publicity is sought in connection with all purchasing activities.

A campaign has been conducted with great success with a view to eliminating all middle men from bidding on Navy supplies by maintaining a rigidly supervised list of qualified bidders and by making it attractive to manufacturers to bid direct. Contingent-fee attorneys and brokers have been mercilessly exposed, and the facts in each case have been presented to the Department of Justice for action. A year ago the percentage of brokers bidding for Navy business was between 6 and 7 per cent. To-day this percentage has been cut down to between 1 and 2 per cent. On occasions when satisfactory bids have not been received at the public opening by reason of scarcity of material or unwillingness of manufacturers to bid in the face of rising prices, special appeals have been made in the form of individual letters, pointing out the urgent necessity for the material and the responsibility of the manufacturer in contributing to the supply of war needs. Upon each application of this method the necessary supply of the needed commodity has been obtained at satisfactory prices.

War-time means of securing material: Often by reason of an insufficient supply of raw material or an unwillingness on the part of manufacturers to furnish material at prices which the Navy ought to pay, it has been necessary to exercise the power vested by law to place mandatory orders at prices determined by the Navy after intensive investigation of the cost of production. This procedure has been necessary both to obtain the finished product and to control raw materials when prices were unduly inflated by reason of wide competition on the part of manufacturers who sought to supply the finished product. Price discussions have been held with the representatives of the leading industries and have resulted in securing many classes of supplies at reasonable prices, in addition to establishing close relations between the Navy and industry. In addition to the peace-time method of competition, it has been possible for the Navy to further assure fair prices by reason of its vigorous use when needed of the price-fixing powers. In order to protect the Navy until such time as the competition order of industry is fully restored it would seem imperative that they should be extended beyond the limits at which they are now fixed.

Fair prices to the Navy: In every exercise of the purchasing function the Navy has sought tirelessly to assure fair prices. To this end every means open to it have been actively employed. A few concrete examples of this policy will serve to show the practical results obtained and to further justify the elaborate and detailed study of commodity markets maintained by the Navy since the beginning of the war. In certain instances, after a thorough request for bids had resulted unsatisfactorily, it was found necessary to allocate Government needs among the industry in order that actual production might be assured and at the same time that fair and just prices should be obtained. This practice has been widely followed in the steel industry and has been most successfully applied by the Navy in connection with its purchases of certain classes of food products. Where allocation has failed it has been necessary to commandeer available supplies in order to meet immediate needs. In June, for illustration, in cooperation with the Army, a joint order to commandeer white and kidney beans became necessary. As a result of the order 42,000,000 pounds of beans were secured in California. Many contracts were in force for the sale of the beans which were commandeered, title to pass upon the docking of the vessel at a United States port. In order to protect the Navy's interests and to avoid the obvious increases in cost which would result from the injection of intermediate owners, commandeering orders were entered against the cargoes by wireless, and a fair price, based upon the cost of the product to importers, was fixed. By this means a large supply of the necessary staple was obtained at a great saving to the Army and the Navy, and all parties with equitable rights in the transaction were fully protected.

A successful means of readjusting prices downward has been effected by supplying raw material to the manufacturers. In July, 1917, 3,000,000 pounds of wool were purchased, and the effect upon the market of the price at which wool was offered by the Navy to its cloth contractors was surprising. Although there was no established price control at that time, the action of the Navy helped to stabilize the whole wool situation. Manufacturers state that this wool made it possible for them to obtain satisfactory prices on raw material, and as a result reductions were made in the price to the Navy of finished wool products. In this instance the Navy's small holding of wool prevented the price on contractor's options from exceeding the price set by the Navy on its own supply. A further purchase of 25,000 bales of Australian wool was made under favorable conditions by arrangement with the British Government, and a complete set of samples was made available for the inspection and selection by successful low bidders on manufactured cloth. As a result a direct saving has been effected to the extent of about \$1,500,000 and has assured the production of material with which to clothe the fleet. Another instance where the Navy has successfully supplied raw material and so obtained finished products at low prices is seen in the case of high explosives. In a period of unusual demand concerns who had the facilities for fabricating but which were not able to obtain the raw materials at reasonable prices were furnished the raw material by the Navy, which made it possible to secure reasonable prices upon the finished product.

In order to obtain low prices and to avoid a duplication of effort there has been a recent tendency to have one department obtain certain classes of material for the entire war program. At the request of the War Department the Navy now handles the distribution of mercury for the use of explosives, paints, and pharmaceuticals, and by reason of similar request controls all arrangements for inspection, payment, and distribution of imported Indian mica. This practice extends also to the purchase of hemp and kapok by the Navy purchasing organization in the Philippine Islands.

In order to make the fullest use of stored material a permanent naval board of appraisal and condemnation has been established at New York, with authority to take possession of articles needed by the Navy. The board has made inventories of goods of interest to the Navy stored in warehouses and held by banks or forwarding agents for export, in the case of 238 warehouses, 49 banks, and 553 forwarding agents and 223 exporters. By thus making use of finished products instead of placing new orders and by taking material at a fixed price a substantial saving to the Nation has resulted.

The commandeering power was most successfully used in the fall of 1917, when the tin market was mounting rapidly. Upon advice from the collector of customs that a ship with a cargo of 250 tons of pig tin consigned to three owners was about to dock, the 13 tons required by the Navy were commandeered and apportioned among the three concerns. The tin was paid for at 64 cents per pound, the approximate value before the market began to rise. Further arrangements were

made to restrain all tin of Navy specification warehoused in New York, and 2,000 tons were placed under seal. As a result of this action, several hundred additional tons were placed at the disposal of the Navy by a dealer at 64 cents per pound, the market at that time being 80 cents. In connection with this operation, the following statement was made a part of the report of the Senate Investigating Committee on Operation of Government Departments:

"The action of the Navy in commandeering tin which was hoarded in the possession of importers and dealers and thereby held from the market when an acute shortage prevailed was commendable."

By reason of the use of mandatory and commandeering orders, the determination of a just and reasonable price was of first importance—the power to fix a price, implying the responsibility to fix it when quoted prices were not fair. The Navy has earned a reputation for insisting upon fair prices to apply to its purchases, and this principle has become recognized as the only substantial foundation for the Government war-time purchasing. The concrete acknowledgment of the soundness of this policy is found in a letter from the chairman of the price-fixing committee to the Secretary of the Navy, in which he states:

"Manufacturers waste their time to attempt to extort unfair prices from the Navy, as it seems to keep itself exceptionally well informed, and uses, as it should, its mandatory orders and commandeering privileges to secure fair prices."

INLAND TRAFFIC DIVISION.

The congestion on the railroads which was generally prevalent at the time war was declared became more serious; and efforts and methods that had previously been used to secure necessary transportation and expeditious movement for Navy and Marine Corps traffic were unavailing.

In the territory north of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers and east of the Indiana-Illinois State line, where were located at least 90 per cent of the industries engaged in the manufacture of war material, the carriers were unable to furnish transportation required for all traffic; and the problem was, and still is, to distribute the transportation properly and fairly and first to those interests directly involved in the prosecution of the war.

For the purpose of protecting Navy interests, a section known as "rush delivery" was created in the Purchase Division of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, which accomplished results that were far-reaching, particularly at a time when the Navy was endeavoring to place in commission for effective operation against the submarine the greatest possible number of destroyers and submarine chasers.

The shortage of freight equipment was very acute. Where, during normal times, a few days were consumed in handling freight between point of origin and destination weeks were now required. Contractors found it impossible to secure cars in the required number and were unable to move with reasonable promptness those that they did secure except with the assistance of the Navy.

Toward the end of 1917 the volume of traffic to be handled increased enormously; adverse rail conditions continued; congestion and delays increased; and, mainly due to the unusually severe winter, there resulted the most serious situation known in the history of the railroads.

It was therefore deemed advisable, early in February, 1918, to establish a Division of Inland Transportation in the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, consisting of a limited number of employees assisted and advised by a few executive representatives of the United States Railroad Administration. This division has so well accomplished the purpose for which it was created that there has been but little serious trouble since in moving with reasonable promptness the war program traffic in which the Navy and Marine Corps were, or are, interested. While much of this improved situation is due to the ability of the rail carriers to take care of all the traffic involved to better advantage at this time, yet the direct action by this division and the assistance that it has been able to render the various bureaus has enabled action to be taken and to result with greater dispatch.

Particular assistance was and is being given to subcontractors who have very little ability to obtain prompt results (if at all) except through the efforts of the Navy and Marine Corps; and the very few complaints that have been made for some months plainly indicate the value of the assistance rendered in the speeding up of the war program.

The measures adopted by the Navy in connection with labor transportation to and from navy yards, shipbuilding plants, and other activities in which the Navy was and is interested have been far-reaching in their effect upon a situation that was adverse in its operation against Navy activities. Results were obtained by inducing in some instances the street railway companies to expand their transportation facilities, thus giving satisfactory transportation conditions and abating the conditions that would in time have become intolerable to labor.

All during the period of increased activity occasioned by the outbreak of hostilities, close attention has been given to the necessity of avoiding unreasonable or excessive transportation charges. The same attention has been given to rate applications to and from contemplated storage sites.

ALLOTMENT AND WAR-RISK DIVISION.

Of great interest to thousands of dependents of our men, in the fleet and scattered through our stations at home and abroad, are the allotments made by the personnel of the Navy. In July, 1917, there were paid about 29,000 allotments, amounting to a little over \$860,000. In June, 1918, there were paid 128,000 allotments, amounting to about \$2,700,000. During the fiscal year there were paid a total of 849,000 allotments, amounting to over \$19,000,000.

The third liberty loan to the Navy was handled by Supplies and Accounts, the work being in direct charge of Admiral Cowie, and the Navy officers and men, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard subscribed a sum of over \$18,500,000. It is interesting in this connection to note that every navy yard in the United States gave subscriptions from more than 80 per cent of its employees, all but one over 88 per cent of the employees, and all but two over 95 per cent of the employees. One yard had 100 per cent of the entire number of employees therein subscribing, and the average subscription in this yard was \$87.50.

Steps are being taken to put the fourth liberty loan "over the top," so far as the Navy is concerned, with an even greater total as regards the amount of money subscribed.

The war-risk insurance act approved October 6, 1917, threw a tremendous volume of work upon the Navy, and this work was handled by Supplies and Accounts, by a special division created for this purpose, working in close harmony with the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department.

Specially trained officers were sent abroad to visit every ship there, and all stations, and to explain to every officer and man, afloat and ashore, the provisos of this act. In addition, they conducted an active

selling campaign and saw to it that all requests were sent in in proper form, so that allotments would be paid without delay and without interminable correspondence.

In December, 1917, 11,000 applications were forwarded to the Treasury Department; in January, 41,000; increasing rapidly from month to month, in January 20,300 checks, being mailed, to the value of nearly \$1,500,000, and in June of this year 100,756 checks, of a total of over \$4,150,000.

How great a success the war-risk insurance is proving is shown by an examination of the latest applications for insurance received in comparison with the earlier ones, which show an increase of nearly \$1,500 on average applications, figures of which are as follows:

	Average.
1,000 early applications	\$7,431
1,000 intermediate applications	7,851
1,000 recent applications	8,972
Grand average	8,085

The total of 276,341 insurance applications in the Navy July 31, 1918, at this average, makes a total amount of \$2,234,216,985 insurance in the Navy.

Of the 345,720 family-allotment applications in the Navy July 31, 1918, approximately 100,000 are "live" allotments. The average allotment per man of these is a few cents over \$16, making a total of \$1,600,000 per month that the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department is paying to Navy dependents on these family allotments.

LOGISTICS AND FUEL DIVISION.

The entry of the United States into war made the development and handling of the fuel problem one of increasingly vital importance to the country at large as well as to the Navy. The increased Navy demands for all classes of fuel and the often diminishing supply, due to many surrounding conditions, such as labor, transportation, etc., have made it necessary that the greatest care be exercised in the solution of the problem. A few luminous examples showing the rise in the demands are:

Bituminous coal: For the fiscal year 1917 the Navy's requirements were approximately 1,200,000 gross tons, while in 1918 the requirements were in excess of 4,000,000 tons, 90 per cent of which was delivered at tidewater points.

Anthracite coal: Three times the Navy's prewar requirements were used in 1918.

Fuel oil: There has been a large increase in the consumption of this fuel and, in 1918, 4,600,000 barrels were handled, over 90 per cent being for delivery at the Atlantic seaboard, this being three times the amount of oil stored in 1917.

Gasoline: Again the requirements treble, and 11,000,000 gallons were delivered at the Atlantic seaboard and Gulf ports, with half a million gallons more on the Pacific coast.

Distillate: 400,000 gallons have been used by the Navy during this past year.

The handling of the Navy's fuel requirements made it necessary to resort to placing allotment orders against various leading suppliers throughout the country on a basis of an equitable share in the total production, great care being exercised to have these allotments represent a proper pro rata of the total production of the companies involved, based upon their percentage of output, proximity to the transportation required, convenience of facilities, etc. The question of the price of coal was fixed in August under Executive announcement and has been modified from time to time to correspond to the increased cost of production of the various districts, the average price during the last half of the fiscal year being approximately \$3 per gross ton at mines producing Navy coal.

The problem of Navy coal is further complicated by the fact that high-grade coal only has to be used by the Navy to meet the military requirements. This coal has to be furnished from mines accepted for this purpose after careful inspection and tried experience. Great benefit has been secured to all concerned by the establishment of the Tidewater Coal Exchange, which, for example, permits loading assignments to be handled at any pier in the harbor in question. The equalization of coal credits in the exchange, under the rules laid down, takes care of the distribution between the coal suppliers and mines at interest.

To meet the daily current problem of the storage of coal careful and accurate surveys have been made of all the principal ports, and large Navy storage plants have been constructed at various ports along the coast equipped with the latest and most economical handling and loading devices. These storages, when completed, will represent a capacity of approximately 1,500,000 tons; and in a like manner the reserve storage is being developed for oil and gasoline, in order that ships may be rapidly refueled alongside the pier or in stream.

SUPPLY DIVISION.

During the past year 143,000 requisitions from various sources were handled by this division, covering all possible items of naval stores.

Among the special features developed by the war were the special winter clothing, submarine clothing, and flash-proof clothing. There had been no previous need in the Navy for cold-weather clothing as our fleet has usually spent its winters in southern waters. At the outbreak of the war, however, the need developed, and after consulting British experience, specifications were drawn for winter clothing, which was immediately obtained by Supplies and Accounts, and is now in use on all vessels of the fleet, with spare outfits located at all the supply stations ashore. This clothing consists of two heavy woolen undershirts; two pairs heavy woolen socks; one blanket overshirt; one wind-proof suit with hood; mittens; and heavy arctics; and with this outfit a man on watch can stand the coldest winter blasts.

The submarine clothing is another special item which has received special attention; and the special garment now in use, although being modified from time to time, as experience teaches, has been very satisfactory.

The development of the aviation clothing kept pace with the development of our air fleet, and by the fall of 1917, 1,500 outfits were on hand and many more have since been purchased. These outfits are being changed from time to time as experience proves the necessity.

The radical development of special clothing was the adoption of flash-proof clothing, which protects the men at guns from the danger of sparks and fire. A board specially appointed for the purpose inquired extensively into the matter, and this clothing is now being obtained for use aboard all ships needing it.

An important and little-heard-of function of Supplies and Accounts is the salvage of scrap and condemned material. The sale of garbage, for instance, previously discarded, will, it is estimated, result in ultimate returns this year of at least \$100,000. With the cooperation of Yards and Docks utilization is being made of former wood waste to pro-

duce heat. The saving is conservatively estimated this year at \$300,000. More careful attention is being paid to the reworking, repair, and salvaging of all other scrap materials, and the whole question of salvage is being placed on a modern scientific basis. It is not exaggerating to state the ultimate gain this over last year will be at least \$500,000. Not only does this represent a direct dollar-and-cent saving, but it goes further, as it saves the production elements all over the country.

The question of storage in the Navy has taken great strides. The tremendous burden thrown upon it in order to take care of the immense amount of stock needed to supply the fleet and shore establishments at the outbreak of the war meant that storage space must keep pace with the increase in stock. Supplies and Accounts and Yards and Docks, working in closest harmony, show results in the following buildings already completed or near completion:

- New York Yard: 11-story building, area 712,900 square feet.
- Philadelphia: 7-story building, area 307,900 square feet.
- Boston: One 8-story storehouse and one 10-story storehouse adjoining, area 900,000 square feet.
- Mare Island: 4-story building, area 128,700 square feet.
- Charleston: 4-story building, area 96,600 square feet.
- Puget Sound: Nine-story building; area, 287,800 square feet.
- New London: Four-story building; area, 57,000 square feet.
- Hampton Roads: Six-story building; area, 352,423 square feet.
- Newport: Four-story building; area, 59,409 square feet; cost, \$147,833.
- Washington: Five-story building; area, 137,500 square feet; cost, \$376,751.

In order to relieve the congestion in the navy yard at Brooklyn and also at Norfolk and to permit the industrial activities of those yards to be properly expanded for repairs of the fleet the supply bases at South Brooklyn and at Jamestown will be developed as the two primary issuing and equipping points for the augmented fleet. Inland storage has been located at Phillipsburg, N. J., immediately across the river from Easton, Pa., from which point bulk supplies will be distributed to the issuing yards and bases along the coast.

Under the explicit direction of the Secretary of the Navy, the development of Navy storage has been rapidly made along the following lines: Permanent storage of sufficient amount to meet the needs of the Regular Navy in peace times, together with such temporary storage as may be necessary at this time to meet war conditions, this being in strict compliance with the Secretary's firm stand not to spend a dollar or use a bit of material or any man power unnecessarily during the war.

OVERSEAS DIVISION.

It will be interesting to note that in all the shipments of Navy stores abroad in naval supply ships or ships consigned to the Navy for this purpose only two vessels have suffered damage, one being torpedoed and the other from fire within. The former vessel did not carry a large cargo, and the greater portion of the cargo of the latter vessel was salvaged. It will be seen that the steady flow of naval supplies abroad to our fleet operating there has been practically uninterrupted.

The shipment of seaplanes—more than 403 to date—has been without mishap.

DISBURSING DIVISION.

As of interest to show the rise in expenditures during the last fiscal year, in July, 1917, Supplies and Accounts paid 5,498 vouchers, amounting to \$22,250,000; in June, 1918, 13,202 vouchers were paid, amounting to \$62,160,000; and a total disbursement during the fiscal year on 121,931 vouchers amounting to \$593,251,526.45—in this one, but largest, disbursing office of the Navy.

The largest part of the accounting efforts of the past year has been required in connection with the purchasing of materials in cases where the determination by the Navy itself of cost and proper compensation has been necessary; i. e., in all cases where, for one reason or another, a fixed-price contract could not be entered into or could not be entered into without investigation and where the product contracted for did not fall under general price agreements controlled by the War Industries Board.

The situation as regards wages, cost of materials, and financing of additional plant capacity has, of course, been such as to make it necessary for many manufacturers to ask for cost-plus contracts; on the other hand, the Navy, in order to avoid the necessity of allowing manufacturers a wide margin for contingencies, has found in many cases that its interests required either a cost-plus contract, with a continuous and careful inspection of costs thereunder, or special investigations of bids and estimates whereby a fair fixed-price contract could be entered into or a fair final price awarded under Navy commandeering orders for manufacture.

In order to meet these conditions a force has been organized, which at the end of the fiscal year included 15 officers and 225 junior accountants and clerks in Supplies and Accounts, and 130 officers and about 2,000 junior accountants and clerks in the field, located throughout the country at about 100 major plants and shipbuilding yards and several score of small ship-repair yards and machine shops.

The activities of this organization have resulted in actual concrete savings to the Navy of \$11,000,000, without attempting to estimate what further amounts would have been charged to the Navy had the control exercised by this organization been absent.

This control has been exercised, on the whole, with little friction. The accounting organization has been imbued with the idea that a way must always be found to prevent the Government's money from being wasted without interfering with the expeditious prosecution of the work.

The sphere in which the application of this cardinal principle has been most necessary is in the administration of the cost-plus contracts. Supplies and Accounts has been concerned with the inspection of costs under three general forms of these contracts, which, due to the organization of the Navy Department, have been administered in three separate ways: First, the manufacturing contracts, including guns, airplanes, forgings, special devices, and supplies, aggregating \$124,000,000; second, shipbuilding contracts; and, third, the ship-repair contracts, under which have been expended \$168,000,000 and \$25,000,000, respectively. Payments under public works cost-plus contracts have been made by the disbursing officers upon the certificates of the engineers of the Bureau of Yards and Docks.

Other financial matters of unusual complexity which have arisen have included adjustments with the Shipping Board, the War Department, the allies, and private parties on account of charter rates, freight rates, and inventories on cargo vessels and troop transports seized, purchased, or built; adjustments of accounts receivable and payable with the British and French missions and other departments of the Government; foreign exchange matters arising in South America, China, Turkey, and Europe; the shipment of money; the organization

of accounting systems for the new Navy plants; development of accounting systems for the naval districts and the naval overseas transportation service, and the meeting of the many new problems arising in navy-yard accounting with respect to cost keeping and the interpretation of legislation and decisions affecting yard labor.

As to the manufacturing contracts, of which there are 71 in force at 47 plants, Supplies and Accounts is able to speak with knowledge of all phases of the problems which have arisen, from the preliminary negotiations with the contractors to the final settlement. It can be said that notwithstanding the obvious objections to cost plus the operations under these contracts have been on the whole satisfactory.

The general weakness of the cost-plus contract from the standpoint of the Government is, of course, the tendency toward lack of interest or effectiveness on the part of the manufacturer in keeping costs down.

As a partial offset to this, wherever practicable, the profit under the contract has been made a lump sum instead of a percentage of cost; in such cases there obviously exists a certain incentive on the part of the manufacturer to turn over the work promptly, and thus cheaply, and realize his profit, since dragging out the work or inflating the cost will not increase his profit, but will merely tie up his plant and capital for a longer period.

Other and more universal methods of control over waste have been exercised. The first is the careful drawing of the contract to exclude expenses not properly chargeable to Government product. The chief of these is a considerable group of charges such as advertising, bad debts, discounts, commissions, etc., in general to be described as selling expenses, which, in fact, as the Government takes up more and more of the capacity of the plant, gradually tend to disappear. A further group of charges embraces those which, while some manufacturers customarily include in overhead, are in reality a proper charge to capital account, such as extraordinary repairs to buildings, etc., or a proper charge to profit and loss or surplus account, such as interest, income, and profits taxes, losses on contracts, excessive salaries, etc.

Further than this, a system of control over methods of purchase and prices of material and plant procured by the contractor has been established; tool rates and depreciation accounts have been examined and wage schedules compared with the rates prevailing in the vicinity. All wage schedules have been submitted to the Secretary of the Navy for approval in conformity with the general labor policies of the Government. Though the high cost of labor is sometimes attributed to the wide vogue of the cost-plus contract it is believed that on the whole it can not fairly be so attributed. It is due rather to general conditions and policies in which the form of contract under which labor is employed is but a minor factor. Apart from the wage element in the high cost of labor there is of course to be considered the question as to whether the day's pay represents a full day's work. Careful attention has been given to this feature of cost inspection and each Navy cost inspector has a force of competent and trustworthy men to cover this matter day and night.

In the light of actual experience much attention has been devoted in the past year to perfecting the cost, profit, and compensation provisions of the standard manufacturing cost-plus contract. Few contracts providing for a percentage profit have been executed; wherever practicable the fixed profit form being used. The lump-sum profit is based on a percentage of the estimated cost of production, frequently with a provision that should the cost of production fall below the estimated cost named in the contract the saving will be divided between the contractor and the department. The percentage of such savings allowed to the contractor ranges from 10 to 50 per cent, according to the closeness with which it was possible to figure the estimated cost. Before including the estimated cost in a contract of this kind examinations of the cost estimates of the contractors were usually made by officers of Supplies and Accounts to determine the reasonableness of the estimate.

Examination of the accounting systems of several hundred commercial concerns has disclosed the unmistakable fact that nowhere in the country has as much care and study been given to the development of a proper cost-accounting system, with all that that means in control, economy, and efficiency, as has been devoted to the navy-yard system.

During the fiscal year 1918 accounting departments were established at the Naval Aircraft Factory, Philadelphia, and Naval Ordnance Plant, South Charleston, W. Va. The industrial accounting system in use at other industrial navy yards in general was installed in these plants.

A comparison, as indicated below, of the amount of the expenditures and the number of employees at the industrial navy yards in the United States between the fiscal years 1917 and 1918 represents the expansion of the activities of these yards due to the war, and is an index of the increased burden placed on the accounting organizations of the yards:

Yard.	1917	1918
Portsmouth.....	\$3,925,415	\$10,369,423
Boston.....	7,427,914	22,380,532
New York.....	19,612,639	78,963,702
Philadelphia.....	7,269,954	25,185,948
Washington.....	12,631,633	29,368,133
Norfolk.....	10,781,886	24,010,703
Charleston.....	3,020,396	9,623,645
Mare Island.....	6,870,180	18,236,812
Puget Sound.....	3,629,096	14,064,154
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Yard.	Number employed June 30, 1917.	Number employed June 30, 1918.
Portsmouth.....	2,264	4,791
Boston.....	4,484	9,822
New York.....	10,499	16,687
Philadelphia.....	6,406	9,378
Washington.....	6,833	10,639
Norfolk.....	7,130	10,168
Charleston.....	2,983	4,531
Mare Island.....	4,219	8,005
Puget Sound.....	2,495	5,490
Total.....	47,414	79,233

The increase in statistical data in connection with naval expenditures has been extremely heavy. This increase has been due to the establishment of accounts for new stations and vessels; additional number of supply and disbursing officers rendering returns; and the increased number and value of expenditures for the naval service. During the year approximately 400 additional accounts for stations ashore and 20,000 for vessels have been established.

From March until July 1, 1918, approximately 1,400 contracts were examined and briefed, 1,393 cost schedules prepared, and at the end of the fiscal year there were 918 open contracts on the books. During this period the amount of material thus consigned and accounted for was \$42,500,000.

It has been necessary for the Navy to determine freight rates for the transportation on naval vessels of cargo for the allies, other Government departments, and private parties, made necessary by the ocean tonnage situation. The Shipping Board has cooperated in this matter as well as in the matter of making settlements with the owners of the requisitioned vessels for the value of consumable and nonconsumable stores on vessels assigned to the Navy.

Early in the fiscal year the foreign exchange situation in South America made it necessary to obtain authority from the Treasury Department to negotiate and account for bills of exchange at the commercial rate in order not to work a hardship on the officers and men of the Navy by paying them at the mint value, which had been the former practice.

In Great Britain and France the establishment of depositories by the Treasury Department in London and Paris has provided a satisfactory method of taking care of disbursing requirements overseas.

In response to the suggestion of the military governor of Santo Domingo that the fractional currency of the Republic was very scarce and that he believed the prestige of the United States in the island would be greatly enhanced by the use of fractional currency of the United States, licenses for shipment of small coin were obtained from the Federal Reserve Board.

The number of requisitions drawn on the Treasury Department and the amount of money placed to the credit of the Navy disbursing officers are as follows:

Month.	Number of requisitions drawn.	Amount of money withdrawn from Treasury.
July.....	253	\$70,951,500.00
August.....	224	65,370,500.00
September.....	215	68,535,000.00
October.....	222	115,013,000.00
November.....	255	120,858,000.00
December.....	282	116,468,500.00
January.....	294	136,504,500.00
February.....	238	89,528,700.00
March.....	334	143,325,000.00
April.....	302	136,109,000.00
May.....	305	160,064,899.05
June.....	333	155,014,227.24
Total.....	3,257	1,377,742,826.29

The number of public bills paid has been as follows:

July to September.....	82,957
October to December.....	115,180
January to March.....	137,970
April to June.....	169,892
Total.....	505,999

BUREAU OF ORDNANCE.

The service of the Bureau of Ordnance of the Navy Department includes supplying guns and their control equipment, together with powder and projectiles, to all ships in the Navy. It also provides, among other things, armor plates for battleships, torpedoes and their launching apparatus, all our naval mines, and the many new devices that have been developed to combat the German submarine.

Because of the vast quantity and variety of material that must be supplied the organization of the bureau is in the nature of a committee of experts.

The work of the past year has largely dealt with an enormous expansion along lines laid down prior to the declaration of war. As early as 1915 plans were drafted in preparation for war, should it come. When the President signed the declaration of war—April 6, 1917—telegrams were dispatched setting in motion the machinery that had previously been prepared, and during the past 17 months the work of the bureau has increased almost 2,000 per cent.

PREWAR EXPENDITURES.

For the two or three years prior to the war the expenditures were in the neighborhood of \$30,000,000 a year. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917 a period which included about three months of war, they jumped to \$168,450,000.

Appropriations for the fiscal year 1918, which cover the period from July 1, 1917, to June 30, 1918, reached the enormous total of \$585,922,000.

For the current fiscal year—that is, the period from July 1, 1918, to June 30, 1919—the appropriations already made total \$304,210,000.

The bureau operates many ordnance plants and factories, some of which are owned by the Government while others have been requisitioned or are operated under contract or on a "cost-plus percentage of profit" basis. Vast quantities of material are also purchased on contract.

Chief among the plants and stations operated is the naval gun factory, located at Washington, D. C. Since the declaration of war this factory has almost doubled its output, and employs nearly 9,000 men. Fifteen acres of adjoining land have been purchased and six large buildings are nearing completion thereon. The naval gun factory builds many of the guns and by far the greatest amount and variety of the special ordnance equipment for them. It has orders for over 50,000 articles for the Navy on its books now, and it is doing work that private concerns have confessed themselves unwilling to attempt. In addition to the new construction mentioned many of the shifts have been rearranged and enlarged to increase their output.

NAVY POWDER FACTORY.

The Navy powder factory at Indianhead, Md., manufactures powder of the highest grade for use in the big guns, employs 1,100 men, and covers a square mile. Additional buildings and machinery, together with a new generating station, are being erected and installed, and the capacity of this plant is increasing rapidly.

The torpedo station at Newport, R. I., a large plant, is engaged in the manufacture of torpedoes. Its facilities have been increased during the past year.

Numerous ammunition depots located throughout the country prepare the powder charges and fuse the shell, handle high explosives, and ship the ammunition to vessels in the naval service. Among recent additions to facilities is an automatic-mine-loading plant of great capacity and of new design.

Despite the huge increase in number of guns supplied during the past year and the restricted area and inadequate facilities of the present naval proving grounds, the Bureau of Ordnance has continued to test every gun there, as well as to assign every powder charge, test every lot of shell, fuses, cartridge cases, armor plate, and do all ammunition experimental work.

Congress has very recently authorized the Navy to acquire a large tract of land along the Potomac River a number of miles below the present proving ground on which a new and longer gun range is being laid out. The necessary preliminary work is now going on at a rapid rate, and it is hoped that the proof of our long-range guns at battle ranges on this new proving ground will begin at a very early date.

On June 4, 1917, 180 acres of land were obtained at South Charleston, W. Va., for a projectile plant. The construction of buildings was immediately begun, machinery of the most modern type ordered and installed, and the plant is now in operation. The designs for an armor-plate factory have been entirely completed and much of the machinery is now on order.

In one plant taken over by the bureau manufacturing steel forgings, the output was increased 300 per cent within two months after Government managers were installed. In another plant, manufacturing binoculars and optical instruments, the previous output was about 100 accepted pairs per week. Over 75 per cent of the binoculars made failed to pass inspection tests. Under Navy control the output, without the installation of new equipment or improved machinery, is now nearing 1,000 pairs per week. Practically every pair made passes inspection.

The naval warfare of the enemy has brought many new developments. One of the most important steps taken by the United States was the arming of its merchant steamers as well as the naval auxiliaries, transports, mining vessels, subchasers, etc., following the severing of diplomatic relations with Germany.

The first merchant ship to be armed was the oil tanker *Campana*. Guns, manned by Navy men, were on board when she sailed on March 12, 1917. The big American passenger liners *New York* and *St. Paul* were armed on March 16, the *Kronland* and *Mongolia* on March 19. And continuously, up to the present time, merchant ships, as they have become available, have been armed and provided with Navy gun crews.

GUNS FOR SUBCHASERS.

Guns have likewise been furnished to more than 650 patrol boats, to all our subchasers, to the Army, and many to foreign Governments. These guns vary in caliber from the 14-inch naval guns on British monitors to the 6-pounders on the French fishing fleet. Since the arming of the *Campana* more than 1,600 vessels have been furnished with batteries, ammunition, spare parts, and auxiliaries—a procedure which had never been contemplated by the department prior to the outbreak of the war.

Constant work has been done in the matter of armor-plate development, and considerable progress made during the past year. The problem of correct amount and location of armor on battleships and battle cruisers has received special attention.

Behind the gun supply there must, of course, be an adequate reserve of ammunition. In spite of the huge increase in the number of guns in service, sufficient ammunition has been provided without delay. Contracts for projectiles were placed in time so that a sufficient reserve was on hand. The call for explosives, however, not only for use in guns but for the many other offensive purposes has far exceeded the capacity of the naval powder factory, and the predetermined quantities necessary to complete the war reserve have been obtained from private factories under contract.

Owing to the great demand from both the Army and the Navy for the standard high explosive, T. N. T., or trinitrotoluol, the bureau has decided to use a new substitute product which promises to be satisfactory and of which an ample supply seems available to supplement the output of T. N. T. and make greater quantities of the latter available for Army use.

MANY INVENTIONS.

The task of combating the German submarine has brought the invention of many new devices. An efficient means of attack against the submarine was found to lay in the use of depth charges, or explosive charges, fitted with a mechanism designed to explode the charge at a predetermined depth below the surface of the water. The force of explosion of a depth charge dropped close to a submarine is sufficient to disable or sink it. An American type of depth charge has been developed and issued in quantity to our forces. A quantity of the British type is being manufactured for that navy.

In addition to the depth charge, smoke-producing apparatus has been provided to enable the ship to conceal herself in a cloud of smoke when attacked by a submarine and thus escape. Several types have been developed and the proper type issued to ships according to the character of the vessel. Vessels having the necessary gun power prefer usually to engage in gun duels rather than escape in a smoke screen.

After a study of the various types of mines in existence, the bureau has developed an American mine operating on an entirely new principle which also comprised the good points of all existing mines. This mine is now being manufactured in quantity, and large numbers are being supplied for use in the war zone and elsewhere.

The ordinary pointed projectile, hitting the water almost horizontally, is deflected and ricochets. Consequently the hull of a submarine below the surface of the water is protected from ordinary shell at short ranges. A special type of nonricocheting shell, which has been issued to ships sailing in the war zone, was developed early in the year for use against submarines.

SEAPLANE DEVELOPMENT.

As the seaplane is an important means for attacking the submarine, special attention has been given to the development of aircraft devices. The past year has brought the perfection of the nonrecoil gun, and the Lewis gun has been adapted to seaplane use.

Aircraft bombs designed to explode either on impact, if they hit a submarine, or at a predetermined depth, like the ordinary depth charge, have been developed, and the required quantities are being made. Sights for their accurate aim and improved seaplane cameras have accompanied them.

The first year of war saw the completion of the latest type of naval 16-inch gun throwing a projectile weighing 2,100 pounds. Our newest battleships will mount them. At present our largest battleships mount 14-inch guns, which throw a projectile weighing 1,400 pounds.

In this connection it is interesting to note that broadside weights have tripled in the short space of 20 years. The total weight of steel thrown by a single broadside from the *Pennsylvania* to-day is 17,508 pounds, while the total weight thrown by the *Oregon*, the largest ship at the time of the Spanish-American War, was 5,660 pounds.

A 14-inch, 50-caliber gun is 700 inches, or 58½ feet long. It weighs, without the mount in which it is supported in the turret of the battleship, nearly 95 tons. Its cost is \$118,000.

The program of the Ordnance Bureau of the Navy for 1918-19 is in the nature of further developments along the broad lines laid down in its work during the past year.

The real major accomplishments of the Navy Bureau of Ordnance can not be told, as to do so would disclose important naval operations. Some of these operations are now under way; some only in the planning stage, after acceptance by the allies.

The bureau has conceived and put into execution extensive offensive operations. As is natural it leans to the offensive rather than to the defensive side of warfare. Material of entirely new possibilities for part of these expeditions has been not only originated but designed and produced in the bureau. The bureau can not relate what it is most proud of accomplishing in the time since the war commenced.

The new and frightful methods of warfare practiced by the Huns have not only called for an undreamed of quantity of our principal weapons—guns, shells, and powder—but also for new offensive weapons with which the new conditions of warfare on the seas are being met.

America still lays stress on offensive fighting, and her aim is not merely to equal the weapons of her enemy but to produce new and better ones with which he may be overcome.

The arming of more than 650 patrol boats, of hundreds of transports, merchant ships, and naval auxiliaries, as well as the supply of ordnance material to "sub" chasers, the Army, and to foreign governments, has taxed the manufacturing facilities of the bureau.

To meet these demands the Navy has converted large manufacturing plants into gun and shell factories, and where plants were not available for conversion new ones have been built. Since the beginning of the war over 1,600 vessels have been furnished with Navy guns.

To properly provide the Navy with the ordnance material that it needs, the bureau now operates many plants and factories. Among these are:

The Naval Gun Factory, located at Washington, D. C., which, since the beginning of the war, has more than doubled its output and to-day employs 9,000 men.

The Naval Gun Factory builds many of our guns, and an enormous amount of the equipment for them.

The naval powder factory, located at Indianhead, Md., which manufactures powder of the highest grade for use in big guns and which now covers a square mile and employs 1,000 men.

The torpedo station at Newport, R. I.

The output of all these plants, the new sources of supply as well as the old, has been on the whole satisfactory. The majority have made good, and, in consequence, ordnance to supply the rapidly increasing numbers of men and ships in the Navy and merchant marines is keeping pace with the demand and should soon forge ahead, permitting the accumulation of a reserve of ordnance material that the Navy's war policy rightly demands.

Only the salient facts in the field of new naval ordnance can be mentioned, because it is inadvisable to discuss them publicly.

Many of the achievements of which the Navy Bureau of Ordnance is most proud must accordingly be omitted, yet among the new developments, we may mention the new Navy 16-inch gun, the most powerful Navy gun under construction or designed for use at sea as far as it is known, which was successfully tested last April. A howitzer shooting a heavy depth charge fitted to detonate below the water or in contact with a submarine is one of the devices that is aiding in exterminating the U boat.

Although many of the other devices used against the U boat had been developed abroad, partially, if not entirely, before our entry into the war, for a number of reasons it was found to be more advisable to proceed with the design of American types of these weapons that would prove to be more adaptable to American manufacturing methods. In this way an American type of depth charge was designed and is now being produced in quantity.

A large supply of depth charges means that the destroyers may use them without stint, and the chances of a successful attack against a U boat when it is sighted are enormously increased. The supply of depth charges from this country has probably reduced the U boat's sinkings more than any other one cause. Hun prisoners from U boats have stated that German submarine commanders are cautioned that American depth charges explode with great and unusual violence.

Similarly, an American type of mine, operating on an entirely new principle, which is believed to combine all the good points of the foreign mines and to be one of the safest mines in the world to handle, while at the same time a very effective weapon, was developed.

The work in developing this mine and the success attained has been particularly pleasing to the bureau. The output of mines in this country for one single day is now equal to the total output for an entire year before the war. In order to reach this production, manufacture of parts has been undertaken in hundreds of factories throughout the country and a large mine filling and assembling depot has been developed here. In addition, a large final assembling and testing depot has been established abroad. The efficient manner in which this great number of mines is assembled and tested is very impressive.

The enormous demands for explosives for mines, depth charges, and similar purposes showed that a shortage would soon result. Therefore, a new type of explosive, utilizing products not previously used, but available, was sought and adopted by the Navy to help out the situation. A large plant is being built in the West to produce it.

Many of the devices which can merely be briefly named have been developed and are being supplied. Among these are signal rockets and recognition stars, a new and more efficient type of apparatus for producing smoke screens, illuminating projectiles, etc.

Not only has armament for ships of the sea been carefully followed and developed, but armament for airships, seaplanes, was given early attention, and bombs of various types, together with necessary ma-

chine guns, large caliber nonrecoil guns, etc., were placed in manufacture and have met the demands of the service. New and improved bomb sights have given much satisfaction. Various training devices for bomb dropping and gunners have been supplied.

It is the policy of the bureau to endeavor to anticipate the needs of the service and to proceed in advance to meet them. In addition, the bureau endeavors to suggest to the Chief of Naval Operations such projects as can be effectively carried out with ordnance material that can be made available.

Accordingly the bureau has conceived and put into operation extensive offensive operations. As is natural it leans to the offensive rather than to the defensive side of warfare. Material of entirely new possibilities for part of these expeditions has been not only originated but designed and produced by the bureau. The bureau can not relate what it is most proud of accomplishing in the time since the war commenced.

BUREAU OF STEAM ENGINEERING.

Brief summary of work under cognizance of the bureau done since the United States entered the war:

Since the United States entered this war the magnitude of the engineering work of the Navy, both mechanical and electrical, has been, not only in its actual amount but in the rapid development of facilities for its execution, without a parallel for the same period of time in the history of the world's navies.

The reasons for this are manifest in the swift growth of the huge fleet which the Navy now operates for the protection of our coasts from naval attack and of our coastwise shipping from submarines and mines, for guarding the steamer lanes to Europe, for offense against the submarines in British and French waters and in the Mediterranean, and, in conjunction with our allies, for keeping watch and ward over the German high-seas fleet in the North Sea.

It is a truism to say that, both on land and sea, this is very largely an engineering war. Hence, the construction, repair, and supply of this vast aggregation of vessels has been, and is, the work of engineers of all branches within and without the Navy.

SHIPS OPERATED BY THE NAVY.

In battleships, cruisers, gunboats, destroyers, mine ships, submarines, submarine chasers, torpedo boats, and auxiliary ships the Navy is now operating a total of about 570 regular naval vessels.

In addition, it is operating 93 vessels drawn from the Coast Guard, the Lighthouse Service, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Fish Commission.

Further, the Navy is operating a fleet of 937 converted merchant vessels, comprising troop transports, mine sweepers, repair ships, tenders, hospital ships, yachts, tugs, and fishing vessels for distant patrol service, and yachts, tugs, and launches in similar service in the various naval districts on our coasts.

And, finally, it is now operating for the Army and Navy 247 vessels of the naval overseas transportation service, with 112 more to be commissioned shortly.

These various items make a grand total of 1,959 vessels on a naval contribution to date to the allied forces waging the world war.

SHIPS NOW BUILDING.

In navy yards and private plants there are now under actual construction a large number of combatant and auxiliary vessels and tugs for the Navy.

The machinery for these vessels is being built either by the machinery division at navy yards or at private plants under the supervision of inspectors designated by the Bureau of Steam Engineering.

EXTENSION OF PLANTS AT NAVY YARDS.

Very extensive facilities are required for handling the construction and repair work for this vast fleet.

Large extensions of the plants under cognizance of this bureau have been made at virtually all of our navy yards. These extensions are especially noteworthy at the New York, Mare Island, and Puget Sound yards, where provision was made for work of the heaviest character, and also at the Philadelphia and Norfolk yards, where new machine shops and foundries were built.

PRIVATE PLANTS—EXTENSIONS FINANCED BY THE NAVY.

The Navy Department has also expended many millions of dollars on private plants in financing the extension of their shops or in building and equipping shops for wholly new plants.

(a) Thus a plant for constructing turbines was equipped for the General Electric Co. at Erie, Pa.

Also at Erie a new plant was built and equipped to be operated by the Erie Forge & Steel Co., for the production of shafting and gun forgings.

(b) A plant for building turbines was constructed and equipped at Buffalo, N. Y., for the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation.

And, for its subsidiary, the Fore River Shipbuilding Co., a new boiler shop was built at Providence, R. I., and an entirely new machine shop 300 feet long, was built at the Fore River Yard. Also a new machine shop was built for this company at Quincy, Mass.

(c) At the Bath Iron Works the Government financed the enlargement of the shops to expedite the delivery of destroyer machinery.

(d) The shops of the Pollak Machine Co., Cincinnati, were extended for the production of destroyer shafting.

(e) The forge plant of the Allis-Chalmers Co., Milwaukee, has been extended for the production of destroyer and gun forgings, and a heat-treatment plant installed there. Further, at Milwaukee, the plant of the Falk Co. has been enlarged to cut the gears for the reducing gears of destroyers. There are only two firms in this country which can do this work.

(f) In order to provide destroyer propellers, the brass foundry of the Cramp Shipbuilding Co. was enlarged.

(g) For the Union Iron Works, San Francisco, a new shop was erected at Alameda, in order to facilitate the construction of destroyer machinery.

The department has had to equip, in this way, a number of smaller establishments. The entire cost of financing these industries will be about \$30,000,000. The general type of contract under which these plant extensions were made, is that the Government equips, and if necessary builds, the shops required. And, after the work ordered by the Government is completed, an appraisal will be held to determine the value, to the company concerned, of this new equipment, the company generally having the option of purchase at this figure.

DISTRICT BASES.

About 18 bases have been established in the various naval districts for the repair and maintenance of all district vessels, such as patrol

ships, submarine chasers, destroyers, gunboats, and submarines. These bases have been equipped and supplied by this bureau with all necessary facilities for machinery repairs.

MECHANICAL SCHOOLS.

Numerous schools have been established throughout the country for training mechanics for all classes of vessels and for the Aviation Service. These schools have a complete machinery and hand-tool equipment for this purpose installed by this bureau.

REPAIR OF EX-GERMAN SHIPS DAMAGED BY THE VANDALISM OF THEIR CREWS.

The swift repair of the German ships taken over by this Government forms one of the most striking stories in the history of engineering in our Navy. When war was declared, 103 of these ships of all types were thus taken over, and, of these, practically all were found to have been more or less damaged willfully by their German crews.

In general, the vandalism consisted in breaking main engine cylinders, valves, cylinder heads, steam and exhaust nozzles, and circulating pump casings. One vessel had the connecting and piston rods of the main engines and the stay rods of the boilers sawed nearly through. Several vessels had boilers either ruined or very badly damaged by lighting fires with no water in them.

In addition to remedying this vandalism, extensive repairs were necessary owing to the long period of idleness of these ships and also to the generally run-down condition of the machinery and boilers of many of them.

The grave importance to our Government of their speedy repair is shown by the fact that 20 of the 103 converted to transports can carry about 70,000 troops in one trip.

In about five months, by working day and night, these 20 transports were put in good condition and were in service carrying troops. The repairs were expedited by the fact that the Navy Department put the ships in commission when they were taken over and their crews did much of the work.

The damages were repaired by electric welding, oxyacetylene welding, and by mechanical patching. While the damage was very serious in some cases it was not necessary in any case to renew a cylinder—a fact which redounds greatly to the credit of the welding and the welders.

After the completion of repairs the machinery was subjected to the test required of new machinery, and in addition every vessel was given a 48-hour speed trial to test its machinery throughout. No damaged part which had been thus repaired failed under test. After the speed trial all the vessels were at once placed in service.

Preliminary to the repairs every piece of machinery of the boilers and piping was given a thorough examination in search of vandalism. This work in reality took more time than that required for repairs.

INSPECTION OF ENGINEERING AND OTHER MATERIAL.

This is one of the most important branches of this bureau's work, not only in its own field but for other bureaus.

For example, during the fiscal year 1918 there were inspected—for the Bureau of Steam Engineering and for the Bureaus of Yards and Docks, Supplies and Accounts, Construction and Repair, Ordnance, Navigation, and Medicine and Surgery—a total of 784,427,945 pounds of engineering and other material, of which 97.4 per cent were accepted.

This material was inspected in 2,067 manufacturing establishments by a total force of 306 naval officers and civilian assistants.

RADIO TELEGRAPHY.

All matters relating to radio equipment—design, purchase, installation, maintenance, repair, and replacement—on naval vessels and in United States naval radio stations on shore are—except the actual operation by the radio personnel—directed by the Bureau of Steam Engineering.

Prior to the entrance of the United States into the war the existing naval radio installations afloat and ashore numbered about 305. In the 18 months since then the number has grown enormously and is now between 4,000 and 5,000.

VESSELS.

Thus the radio installations for ships built and under contract are now approximately 4,000. This number includes all vessels of the Navy, combatant and auxiliary of the Army, and of all other branches of the Government, including the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation.

SHORE STATIONS.

The radio service on shore has increased to such an extent that this bureau now maintains approximately 210 stations. These include high-power stations to replace the cables, if necessary, for trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific communication; section patrol radio stations, radio service at aircraft stations, radio compass stations, listening-in stations, and the entire chain of commercial radio stations formerly operated by the Marconi and other companies.

TRANS-ATLANTIC COMMUNICATION.

A new United States naval high-power radio station, the most powerful in the world, is now being completed in France for trans-Atlantic communication, under the direction of the Bureau of Steam Engineering.

For similar service the Annapolis high-power station, just completed, is not only the most powerful in the United States but, for the time, in the world.

Four high-power radio stations in the United States—namely, those at Sayville, Tuckerton, New Brunswick, and Marion—have been remodeled and enlarged for trans-Atlantic service.

A high-power radio station is nearing completion at El Cayey, P. R., which can be used for trans-Atlantic service, and will as well insure uninterrupted communication with our West India possessions.

The plans of an additional high-power trans-Atlantic radio station, to be located in the southern part of the United States, are practically completed, and the station has been authorized. Also three radio receiving stations, capable of copying radiograms from European stations, have been developed.

TRANS-PACIFIC COMMUNICATION.

The chain of trans-Pacific radio stations, located on the Pacific coast, in the Hawaiian Islands, and at Cavite, have been improved and enlarged, as have also the intermediate stations at Tutuila and Guam. The Marconi Co.'s high-power trans-Pacific circuit, Bolinas-Marshalls and Kahuku-Koko Head circuits, is maintained in such condition that it can be immediately opened for service if the military situation should require increased facilities for trans-Pacific communication.

AMERICAN MERCHANT VESSELS.

In addition to the radio service on all Government-owned vessels, including those of the United States Shipping Board, this bureau is responsible for the radio equipment on privately owned American merchant vessels requisitioned by the United States Shipping Board. Therefore the radio equipment on practically all vessels flying the American flag is under the direction of this bureau for all matters other than operation and personnel.

RECENT ADVANCES IN RADIO SERVICE DEVELOPED BY THE BUREAU OF STEAM ENGINEERING.

The use of radio for fire control on ships and aircraft has been developed into a practical service.

The development of the radio compass has progressed to such an extent that this instrument is now of the utmost value, making it possible for ships to determine their position at sea by means of radio, and also to ascertain the location of stations, either on shore or afloat, sending out radio signals. Further, by this instrument enemy secret wireless stations may be located, and as well the position of a submarine using radio.

A system of underground radio reception has been developed, which obviates the use of masts to support overhead antennae. This is of great value economically and from a military viewpoint.

The distant control of all principal radio stations has been established, thus permitting the sending and receiving of radio signals in the immediate vicinity at the same time.

Cooperation has also been given in the development of the radio telephone transmitter. These instruments are used in large numbers on vessels of the Navy and elsewhere in the naval radio communication system.

SUMMARY.

From this brief review it will be seen that many of the advances in the science of radio communication, particularly for military purposes, are due primarily to the Bureau of Steam Engineering. This is true especially of the bureau's work in this line since the United States entered the war.

AIRPLANE MOTORS.

The marked military advantage to be gained by having but one type of airplane motor prompted the Navy Department to adopt the motor used by the Army. All Liberty motors used by the Navy are, therefore, obtained through the Aircraft Production Board.

About 1,500 of these motors have been delivered and have been assigned to naval air stations in this country and abroad. Since the number of Liberty motors produced has been too small for the needs of the Army alone, it has been necessary for the Navy to purchase others, to the number of about 700, which have been utilized while awaiting a full supply of Liberty motors.

In addition to these, a large number of motors of less power have been bought for use in training planes, all of which have been distributed to the flying schools, the most important of which is at Pensacola, Fla.

BALLOON GAS.

One of the very important duties devolving on the Bureau of Steam Engineering is the equipment and maintenance of stations for the generation of hydrogen for use in dirigible balloons. A number of stations have been established and a full equipment of hydrogen cylinders provided, so that any calls may be promptly met.

It has also been necessary to give suitable training to a number of young officers for this work and to assign them to stations at home and abroad for the proper conduct of these plants.

ELECTRICAL WORK OF THE BUREAU OF STEAM ENGINEERING.

Communication systems, which are so necessary in the efficient control of gunfire, have, in the ships of the dreadnaught class, been placed in better condition than ever before, and all other vessels, including transports and even merchant ships on which guns for protective purposes have been installed, have been provided with similarly satisfactory systems. It was possible to accomplish this because of careful planning prior to the war.

A work of vital importance conducted by this bureau has been that of the development of submarine detection devices. This work is of such a confidential character that it can be only referred to here.

Despite the large number of merchant vessels taken over, all have been provided with the electric signals for day and night use which are so necessary for the efficient and safe handling of ships in company at sea and in making recognition signals.

SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES ATTENDING NAVAL WAR WORK UNDER PRESSURE.

The great difficulties which have been met in the sudden expansion of our fleet can not be better illustrated than by the story of the obstacles overcome in making provision for the machinery of the 150 destroyers ordered recently.

The act which authorized the construction of these destroyers was dated October 6, 1917, at which time there were building 115 other destroyers, 36 mine sweepers, and 360 submarine chasers. The destroyers under construction were given precedence over all other naval work, and the building yards were fully occupied with them. In order to build the mine sweepers other yards had to be enlisted, none of which cared to take the work, because of the greater profit in building merchant ships. The submarine chasers, being of wood, were placed with wooden-ship builders, while their machinery was allotted to one firm.

It will be seen then that to build the new destroyers new facilities would have to be created, especially as in addition to the absence of available plants there was a lack of enthusiasm among some of the shipbuilders.

Several conferences were held at the Navy Department between shipbuilders and representatives of firms manufacturing boilers, pumps, blowers, forgings, etc. When these first conferences were held the speed contemplated was 28 knots. Subsequently, however, the speed was changed to 35 knots, which change presented a totally different problem so far as the machinery of these vessels was concerned. For example, it meant twice the number of boilers, and with the difficulty then encountered in obtaining boiler tubes the problem as to tubes alone was one of very considerable proportion. However, at a subsequent conference, such assurances were received as to justify proceeding with the 35-knot boats.

The most difficult situation to be met was the one of forgings. For 28 knots we could use solid forgings and utilize facilities which were not available if hollow forgings were required. But two firms could handle the forgings of all sizes that were needed for the 35-knot vessels, and neither of these firms was at all keen to do any of this work.

In fact great difficulty had been experienced in getting one of them to furnish forgings for destroyers which were then under contract, and it was only after much persuasion that they were finally prevailed upon to proceed with this work. They preferred to make ordnance forgings, as did the other firm, the former having been designated for work of that character for the Navy, the latter for the Army.

In view of all this it was clear that the new program demanded a large increase in the forging facilities of this country if the destroyers were to be built—as was contemplated—within 18 months.

ALLOTMENT OF DESTROYERS.

The shipyards were filled with work not only for the Navy but for the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and questions of priority had to be decided as to how far one class of work should be given preference. After several conferences with shipbuilders it was decided to allot 20 destroyers to Newport News, 20 to the New York Shipbuilding Co., 25 to Cramp's, and 85 to the Bethlehem Corporation as represented by Fore River and the Union Iron Works.

BUILDING A SHIPYARD ON A "GOOD SWAMP."

To build the hulls it was necessary for Fore River to create a new shipyard. A plot of land—which the builder termed "a good swamp"—was selected at Squantum Point, near Boston, and work was begun on the new shipyard as soon as Congress authorized the construction of the vessels. In order to provide for the transport of men and material to the "swamp" a creek had to be bridged and a branch trolley line built from Boston to the works.

BUILDING OR EXTENDING AND EQUIPPING SHOPS FOR THE PROPELLING MACHINERY.

The shop at Fore River could take the machinery for but a few of the 45 destroyers at Squantum. So it became necessary to build a shop for the manufacture of turbines and another for building boilers. The former was constructed at Buffalo, the latter at Providence. Both are now in operation. The Buffalo shop has no foundry, and the work of making turbine castings has therefore been distributed among a number of large foundries having good shipping connections with Buffalo.

In the case of the Union Iron Works a new shop was erected at Alameda in order to facilitate the construction of destroyers already under contract, and it was hoped that this shop would also be able to handle the machinery for the additional 40 ordered from the Union Works.

But it early became apparent that the bureau could not depend on this source of supply. So a contract was entered into with the General Electric Co., who were then building a new shop at Erie, Pa., to convert this into a special shop for manufacturing turbines for the destroyers at the Union Iron Works.

The order for this conversion was given 10 days before Congress authorized the construction of the destroyers. Under the terms of the contract the Government equips the shops, and after the completion of the contract an appraisal will be held to determine the value to the General Electric Co. of the equipment that has been installed. (This it may be said is a type of the contracts that have generally been entered into in such cases.) It was also found necessary to rent the old Risdon Iron Works at San Francisco and incorporate it as a part of the Union Iron Works, and, further, to launch submarines at Union in advance of the date contemplated in order to make room for the new destroyers.

For the destroyers building at Newport News and the New York Shipbuilding Co. contracts for the machinery have been let to the Westinghouse Co., who have sublet the most important portion of the work to the Allis-Chalmers Co., of Milwaukee. The combined facilities of these two large companies should produce the machinery within the time desired.

The case of Newport News was much more difficult. Even with the destroyers previously contracted for, it had been necessary for them to place contracts for the principal machinery with different establishments, chiefly in the Middle West, and it was only after many conferences and much discussion that satisfactory arrangements could be made to have castings from one place and their machining done in three others.

As to the Bath Iron Works, while they could not take any of the new program, it was found necessary for the Government to finance the enlargement of their shop in order to expedite the delivery of destroyers that had been already allotted to them. The same was true of a number of the older building firms. In connection with this, a notable piece of work was performed at Fore River by building an entire new machine shop, about 300 feet long, and having it under roof in a little more than a month. It was also necessary for the Navy to double-track the trolley road from Quincy to Fore River in order to facilitate the transport of employees who had almost doubled in number.

BOILERS.

While Fore River will build at Providence all of the boilers for the 45 destroyers they have under contract, those for the Union Iron Works will be built in San Francisco, and those for the other firms by the Babcock & Wilcox Co. To accomplish this and to deliver at the rate of five boats a month, it was necessary for the Babcock & Wilcox Co. to greatly enlarge their facilities. This in turn brought many difficulties which could not be foreseen and made necessary the manufacture, in their own works, of certain machine tools required for the production of their boilers. It also necessitated doing a considerable part of this work at Barberton, Ohio.

PUMPS.

As to pumps, it was found that all builders were so crowded with orders that it would be impossible to get the pumps required unless the Government enlarged existing plants. The Blake & Knowles Pump Works seemed to offer the best source of supply, and accordingly this establishment in East Cambridge, Mass., was almost entirely re-modeled for the manufacture of pumps for all of the 150 destroyers.

BLOWERS, EVAPORATORS, AND DISTILLERS.

It was necessary to divide the orders for the blowers, giving the Terry Turbine Co. 45 sets and the Sturtevant Works the remaining 105 sets. Evaporators and distillers are being built by the Grisco-Russell Co.

PROPELLERS.

The propellers for the destroyers were allotted to the Cramp's foundry, which was enlarged to care for this work.

TURBINES FOR THE CRAMP DESTROYERS.

In order to manufacture the turbines for the Cramp destroyers it became necessary to buy outright the works of the De La Vergne Machine Co., New York City. This purchase was made by the Cramp Co., acting as agent for the Navy Department. Upon completion of their contract the Cramp's will be given the option of purchasing the plant or vacating it.

TURBINE REDUCTION GEARS.

There were only two firms in this country who could cut the gears for the turbines building by the Cramp and Fore River companies.

These firms were the De Laval Steam Turbine Co., of Trenton, and the Falk Co., of Milwaukee. The De Laval Co. could take care of Cramp's destroyers without difficulty, but the Falk Co. had already so many orders that it became necessary to enlarge their plant, which was done.

EQUIPMENT OF OTHER ESTABLISHMENTS.

The Navy Department was compelled to equip smaller establishments in order to enable them to produce the material desired. Some of these were: The Edwards Valve Co. for the manufacture of globe and angle valves, the Chapman Valve Co. for gate valves, and the Consolidated Safety Valve Co. for the manufacture of safety valves. This latter company has the entire order for the 150 destroyers.

Another firm in the Middle West which it was necessary for the Navy to finance is the Wellman-Seaver-Morgan Co., which is manufacturing many of the condensers and a great deal of sheet-metal work for the Newport News, Cramp, and New York ship destroyers.

BOILER AND CONDENSER TUBES.

The question of the supply of boiler tubes was one which for a year or more had given much uneasiness, since prior to the war there was only one firm on whom the Navy could rely for furnishing them.

After war was declared, however, other firms were brought into line, and a schedule established for tube deliveries, so that there was no delay in this respect for the earlier destroyers.

A similar schedule was formulated for the later destroyers, and the tubes have come—and doubtless will come—along as required. To do this several of the larger mills have practically doubled their production of small tubes in order to meet the demands of this country and our allies.

A similar situation obtains with regard to condenser tubes.

FORGINGS.

Because of the conditions referred to previously and the manufacture of 14-inch gun forgings, it was clear that the new destroyers could not be built unless an enormous increase was made in the forging facilities of the country.

Accordingly the Navy Department entered into a contract with the Erie Forge & Steel Co., Erie, Pa., whereby that plant is to be increased to a capacity adequate to handle the largest forgings that will be required for the destroyers and also to manufacture gun forgings for the Bureau of Ordnance.

Lesser extensions were also financed at the forge plant of the Allis-Chalmers Co., Milwaukee; at the Pollak Steel Co., Cincinnati; and at the Camden Forge Co., Camden, N. J.

MACHINE-TOOL SITUATION.

The question of machine-tool supply is one which has acted adversely, to some extent, as to competition in destroyer building. Certain classes of machine tools are very hard to get, and questions of priority are continually arising between the War and Navy Departments regarding the production of such tools. It has happened in more than one case that where the Navy Department has secured priority, the War Department came in and issued a commander order for the same tools. In most cases the commander order has been rescinded and the Navy Department tools have retained their original priority.

FUEL SITUATION.

The fuel situation put another obstacle in the path of rapid destroyer construction. For, while last winter exemption was granted to the shipyards and to the principal manufacturers concerned in destroyer building, a large number of smaller establishments, whose product is necessary for the completion of these vessels, were denied exemption.

SUMMARY.

On the whole, however, the shipbuilders, with a most commendable spirit, are doing all they can to meet the dates contemplated when the order for these destroyers was placed.

A striking evidence of this is that the yard at Squantum will probably deliver its first destroyer within a year of the date when Congress authorized its construction—and this speedy delivery comes from a yard which at that time was merely "a good swamp."

COST OF FINANCING.

The entire cost to the Navy of financing these industries was estimated at \$30,000,000.

Including its allotment from the sums appropriated for increase of the Navy, the average expenditures of the Bureau of Steam Engineering are, at this time, nearly three-quarters of a million dollars per day.

In closing this brief review of the chief features of its work—of its vast responsibilities and the huge effort required to meet them adequately in war—the bureau feels that its staff in the Navy Department and elsewhere, the engineering forces at our navy yards and repair bases, and on our naval vessels, and finally the many skilled executives and the thousands of highly trained mechanics who, in industrial establishments have aided in this work, have all done their full share in writing in fadeless letters the epic of engineering on the dark pages of the history of this war.

BUREAU OF CONSTRUCTION AND REPAIR.

On April 1, 1917, there were building and authorized for the Navy the following vessels:

Battleships	12
Battle cruisers	5
Scout cruisers	7
Destroyers	27
Submarines	61
Fuel ships	2
Supply ship	1
Transport	1
Gunboat	1
Hospital ship	1
Ammunition ship	1

Since the declaration of war the following vessels have been contracted for or ordered built at navy yards:

Destroyers	253
Submarines	58
Mine sweepers	54
Sea-going tugs	27
Harbor tugs	46
Fabricated patrol vessels	112
Submarine chasers	447

Some of these may be turned over to our allies.

Since the declaration of war the following vessels have been added to the Navy:

Battleships	2
Destroyers	30
Submarines	25
Mine sweepers	12
Supply ship	1
Transport	1
Sea-going tugs	2
Submarine chasers (including 100 for allies)	405

In addition to the above, 36 interned German ships have been repaired and fitted for service; about 1,000 privately owned vessels (including 83 Dutch ships) have been purchased or chartered and have been or are being fitted for naval use, and orders are out to commission 112 more when they have been completed; about 107 vessels have been turned over to the Navy by other Government departments. Of the above-mentioned vessels about 740 have been put into naval service proper, including offshore and inshore patrol work, troop-transport duty, fleet fueling or provisioning, hospital, and other service, and about 300 have been put into naval overseas transportation service.

In addition to the preparation of designs for new destroyers, submarine chasers, mine sweepers, designs have been prepared by the Navy Department for various other types of vessels. One of the most important of the new designs that have been produced is that for the 200-foot fabricated patrol vessels, Eagle class, which are being built by Mr. Henry Ford in Detroit, and as many of these will be rapidly built as may be needed. In addition to the designs for naval vessels proper, the Navy Department has, in cooperation with the Emergency Fleet Corporation of the Shipping Board, prepared a number of designs for merchant vessels.

Owing to the restricted passages, the knapsack type of gas mask used by the Army can not be used on board ship. The Navy Department has developed a gas mask of superior type and has issued several thousand masks to the service. At present work is progressing rapidly on an order of several hundred thousand gas masks for the naval personnel.

The Navy Department has a building program of approximately 1,000 small pulling and power boats for its own vessels. In addition to boats for naval use proper, there are now under way 6,000 boats to be issued to vessels building by the Emergency Fleet Corporation and turned over to the Navy to operate. This small boat work is being proceeded with to the utmost practicable extent at the navy yards of the country, and most gratifying progress is being made. All naval vessels operating in the war zone are equipped with boat or life-raft capacity sufficient for every person on board. The Navy has also obtained large numbers of life preservers of an improved type and is issuing them to vessels in such numbers as to provide one for each officer and man on board.

The Navy has arranged for the installation on all naval vessels of mine-sweeping appliances. These appliances are being produced in large quantities; and vessels, both naval and commercial, are being equipped most expeditiously. There is already at least one definitely established instance of the saving of a large United States battleship as a result of the installation of this type of protective device. In close cooperation with the Emergency Fleet Corporation vessels building for the corporation are also being fitted with this device.

Numerous experiments have been carried out by the Navy Department in connection with protective camouflage painting of vessels, and a definite system of camouflage has been adopted. At present, in active cooperation with the Emergency Fleet Corporation, all vessels entering the war zone are camouflage painted.

The department has designed, built, and equipped at the navy yard, Philadelphia, a factory for producing naval aircraft. This factory has been delivering planes since April of the present year. In January last it was decided to quadruple the capacity of the naval aircraft factory. The expansion is now nearing completion, and the present capacity of the aircraft factory is about 50 seaplanes of the largest size per month, and will, it is expected, eventually reach a capacity of 95 seaplanes of the largest size per month.

In connection with the destroyer-building program authorized by the Navy act October 6, 1917, the utmost dispatch in construction was directed. This act authorized an expenditure of \$350,000,000, not only for the destroyers but for plants to build them and for each and every purpose connected therewith. Unusual commandeering authority was also included in the act in order to enable the work to be pushed to the utmost. Preliminary work had already been done in this connection so that the Navy Department was ready to act at once. On October 9, three days after the passage of the act, orders were given to the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation to erect at Squantum, Mass., a plant specially designed for the rapid construction of destroyers, a large number of destroyers being assigned to be built there. In addition, and as virtually a part of the same undertaking, a large plant was directed built at Buffalo, N. Y., adapted to turn out destroyer machinery and turbines, and a plant was undertaken at Providence, R. I., for the special purpose of building boilers for destroyers. These projects were all pushed as fast as possible, being hampered somewhat by the exceptional winter of 1917-18.

The plant at Squantum consists of 10 building slips, 3 double wet slips, assembly shop, plate and angle shop, angle-smith shop, and galvanizing shop under one roof, the total area covered being approximately 790,000 square feet, or 18 acres. In addition there are necessary storehouses and other incidental establishments. It was necessary to build this plant and fit it with machinery. Even before it was completed, it was possible to begin work in part of it, the first work on destroyer material being done on January 14, 1918, when the first keel plate was punched for rivet holes. On April 20 a large amount of destroyer material had been fabricated, and on this date keels were laid for five destroyers, the first one being named the *Delphy*. This was the first vessel launched from the plant on July 18, and she is now nearly completed, so that she will be turned over to the Government probably within a year of the day when the order was given to convert the swampy, low-lying expanse of land at Squantum Point into a plant for destroyer building. There are now over 6,000 men em-

ployed at Squantum, and the force is being steadily increased until there will be between 8,000 and 9,000 engaged in destroyer building only. The turbine-building plant at Buffalo and the boiler-building plant at Providence are also now in full operation.

BUREAU OF YARDS AND DOCKS.

EMERGENCY HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION.

Hospital accommodations have had to be greatly augmented with the increase in personnel for war operations. Emergency hospital units have been constructed in the neighborhood of the cantonments and temporary emergency wards on grounds adjacent to the permanent Navy hospitals.

The buildings have been in general of wood frame construction, one story in height. In Norfolk, Va., and in New York, where two-story buildings are built and where the fire hazards are unusually bad, terracotta walls have been used at an increase of about 15 per cent to 20 per cent over wood frame.

About 6,000 additional beds have been provided to meet the immediate needs of the war conditions, and, roughly speaking, 6,000 more beds are being provided for under present contracts or under contracts about to be awarded. The beds are provided for at 25 stations covering the east coast, south coast, and west coast.

For overseas the bureau has provided 190 portable buildings for hospital work and has completed hospital groups at several foreign stations.

SUMMARY.

The bureau has received appropriations from Congress for hospital construction amounting to \$16,045,000, from which have been provided at 25 stations approximately:

Patients' beds	12,985
Additional personnel	4,900
Total	16,985

AVIATION CONSTRUCTION.

On the outbreak of the war the only air station in operation in this country was the one at Pensacola, Fla. Immediately upon the declaration of hostilities plans for new stations were drawn, and in May of 1917 actual construction started. Since that time 11 large additional stations have been put in operation, and also a number at strategic points, to assist in efficient patrol work. These stations, including additional work recently authorized and now under way, involve the expenditure of \$15,000,000 and provide accommodations for upward of 9,000 men and 400 officers. In addition thereto work is just started at the site of the new station on the Gulf, the initial cost of which will run to \$1,200,000, providing for 600 men and 70 officers.

Kite-balloon stations are being provided, one each in the first, third, and sixth naval districts and two in the fifth naval district, involving an expenditure of \$500,000.

The bureau is as well supplying plans, hangars, and portable buildings for construction by the Canadian Government.

For the manufacture of aeroplanes there has been provided in the navy yard at Philadelphia the naval aircraft factory, the original installation involving the expenditure of approximately \$1,000,000, the contract for which was let on September 15, 1917, and the work contemplated therein completed by November 28, 1917. In February of this year a contract was let for the extension of this factory, involving an expenditure of \$2,850,000, providing not only for vastly increased factory space but, as well, a six-story concrete storage building and three-story office and laboratory structure. The office building is occupied as well as a portion of the factory building, and the concrete storehouse is approaching completion.

Additional storehouses for the reception of aircraft parts and materials have been provided at South Brooklyn, N. Y., and Gloucester, Mass. The original contract for storehouse at New York was let on December 5, 1917, and completed on March 10, 1918, the cost being approximately \$300,000. Since that time need for further space has developed, and an additional building, practically doubling the capacity of the original structure, has been started under contract dated July 18, due for completion December 17, the cost involved being \$362,000. At Gloucester there has been rented a tract of property with buildings already constructed, suitable in large measure for the Navy's use, and they are at this time being prepared for the reception of aircraft material.

A DESCRIPTION OF NAVAL TRAINING CAMPS.

Naval training camps, varying in capacity from 500 men to 45,000 men, have been completed and others are in progress of construction or have been authorized for construction.

Expansion has recently become necessary because of the large number of vessels the Navy has been called upon to man, the increased number of armed guard crews, and the greatly expanded aviation activities.

The design of a complete naval training camp is complex and involves first the special design of the individual buildings such as barracks, mess halls, latrines, instruction buildings, dispensaries, drill halls, recreation buildings, isolation buildings, laundries, power plants, storehouses, refrigeration buildings, bakeries, incinerators, guardhouses, and fire houses; and second, the grouping of these buildings in such a manner as to make a comprehensive plan of the military and naval organization. In conjunction with the planning of camps, topography, drainage, water supply, sewerage, roads, street lighting, and fire protection are important considerations.

Each camp generally has the following major divisions: Administration group, incoming isolation group, outgoing isolation group, main regimental groups, commissary group, educational and recreation group, and service group.

The administration group occupies generally a central situation. Building or buildings for office administration are provided, with subdivisions for executive and general offices. These offices are equipped with desks, chairs, tables, filing cabinets, typewriters, adding machines, and stationery. In a word, they are completely equipped offices. Buildings containing officers' quarters (which are completely furnished and provided with a single bed or cot, mattress, chiffonier, chair, and mirror), officers' mess and kitchen, post office, canteen, petty officers' quarters, armory, wireless and telephone central, make up the administration group.

The incoming and outgoing isolation groups are usually divided to provide for the incoming and outgoing of recruits, who are held under observation here for 21 days upon arriving and 21 days before departing. When new men arrive at camp they enter the receiving building, where their civilian clothes are disinfected and where they are bathed, given a shave and hair cut, examined, vaccinated, inoculated, and fitted out with their service uniforms. The exit of this building is the

incoming probation camp. In both the incoming and outgoing probation camps men sleep in barracks housing 24 men in groups of 12 at each end. Each 12 men are provided with a separate dormitory, mess room, latrine, and serving pantry, all under one roof. Each serving pantry is provided with food by vacuum food carriers distributed from a central probation kitchen by special food trucks. The dishes never leave the building, but are sterilized in each serving pantry. There is a central laundry provided where soiled clothes for each man are brought in a laundry bag and sterilized before being laundered. The isolation camp is provided with a dispensary, officers' quarters, and brig similar to those described hereinafter for the main regimental group. The probation camp is surrounded by a double row of high barbed wire, electrically lighted fencing. Between the rows of fencing is a zone about 10 feet wide to prevent passing anything into the camp from the outside.

The main regimental group is composed of barracks housing men in groups from 54 to 144. The men sleep on mattresses or in hammocks supported by iron pipes. Outside a pipe rail is provided, and it is required that the hammocks be aired there daily in clear weather. Large comfortable latrines are provided, with cement floors. Substantial water-closets, urinals, and ample showers are provided with both hot and cold water. Buildings with scrub decks for washing clothes and hammocks in the same manner as is required of seamen on shipboard are provided. Clotheslines are provided immediately outside the wash houses arranged as similar as possible with racks and blocks as is done on shipboard. There is a dispensary for each regimental unit of 1,000 men. It is provided with 22 beds, a record room, doctor's room, examining room, dental room, pharmacist's room, room for venereal diseases, and adequate toilets. There are in many camps for every 5,000 drill halls approximately 600 feet long, with a span of 100 feet in width and an armory for the stacking of guns and repairs of same. The mess halls are large, airy rooms with cement floors and sanitary bases. The mess halls are equipped with tables and benches and a full equipment of mess gear, such as knives, forks, spoons, dishes, sugar bowls, water pitchers, drinking glasses, and serving trays. The kitchens are large, well-ventilated rooms, the walls of which are painted with washable paint. Kitchens are equipped with double steam kettles and large urns for coffee and tea. There are coal ranges with ovens for roasting or baking. There is also provided an electric potato parer, electric meat chopper, butcher's block, and steam tables and dish warmers. Each kitchen has a refrigerating storage room, a vegetable preparation room, and a storeroom. Large sculleries are provided and equipped with dish-washing machines. A dock is provided for small boats, equipped with float and gangway. Davits for the lowering and raising of boats are also provided as well as a boathouse for suitable storage of boats.

The hospital group has a centrally located and completely furnished administration building similar to that described hereinbefore, with ample provision for the doctor, nurses, and hospital corps, as to sleeping quarters and messing facilities. The hospital has accommodation for between 4 and 5 per cent of the main camp, and is thoroughly equipped with wards, operating pavilion, subsistence facilities, quarters for officers, nurses, hospital corps, and civilians, laundry, heating plant, garage, storehouse, brig, and mortuary and laboratory facilities. The buildings are lighted by electricity, heated generally by steam, completely supplied with hot and cold running water, and have adequate sewerage systems. Complete kitchen and laundry equipments are installed, including provisions for disinfection, sterilizing, and incineration. Operating facilities are available at all stations.

The commissary group contains storehouses, refrigerator building, bakery and general stores buildings for food supplies, clothing, and camp equipment of any kind. The bakery building is provided with modern ovens, electric kneading and mixing machines, and in connection with it there is a storeroom for flour, a room that is warmed for the proper raising of bread, and a room where it can be quickly cooled and stored.

The educational and recreation group contains adequate buildings properly equipped for their various purposes. In this group are an electrical school, a general school, commissary school, rigging school, carpentry school, yeomen school, music school, swimming schools, a stewards' school, radio school, and officers' school. There are also recreation buildings for moving pictures or entertainments. The Young Men's Christian Association and the Knights of Columbus usually provide reading and writing rooms as required.

The service group has buildings for fire house and garage, blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, electrical shop, tailor shop, paint shop, and other shops incidental to the upkeep of a large camp.

MISCELLANEOUS BUILDINGS.

In this group are the central power house, coal-handling apparatus, sewerage disposal, garbage incinerator, and other service buildings.

FIRE-ALARM SYSTEM.

Fire-fighting apparatus similar to that used in well organized communities is installed in each camp upon completion. Adequate water supply and hydrants will be installed for this purpose. In addition to this, buildings will be protected with hand grenades, pyrenes, chemical hand engines, fire pails, and other ready extinguishers. Well-drilled fire-fighting squads will be organized into a fire department.

GENERAL TYPE OF CONSTRUCTION.

Where concrete floors are used, such as in latrine buildings, kitchens, and mess halls, the foundations consist of concrete trench walls; generally, however, foundations consist of timber posts set on concrete footings. The sills, floors, and beams are of wood, and the floors laid double with waterproof paper between. The walls are sheathed inside with matched boards or a thickness of tar paper to prevent the entrance of vermin. The outside walls consist of seven-eighths-inch sheathing, a layer of tar paper, and drop siding of vertical boards and battens. The roofs are sheathed solid and covered in the main camps with green slate surfaced ready to lay roofing. In all the living quarters steam radiators are set somewhat above the floor and the outside walls provided with an opening fitted with shutters so as to regulate the amount of fresh air that can be introduced and warmed as it passes around the radiator. In the ceilings adjustable openings are provided so as to draw this air across the room, where it is exhausted from the top of the building.

PAINTING.

All the hospital interior walls are painted with flat-wall washable paint, and usually the sleeping quarters are painted or finished inside with a coat of barium varnish. The exterior walls of all buildings throughout the camp are painted with a standard olive-green beaver paint.

LIGHTING.

Buildings and grounds are lighted with electricity and so arranged that the master at arms in making his rounds at the proper time can regulate the lighting from the outside of each building. Roads and walks are amply lighted from poles; boundary line fencing is provided with flood lighting.

OTHER SERVICES.

Adequate sewers and sewage disposal, water supply and filtration, and garbage incinerators are provided.

ROADS.

Service roads of concrete are laid and each building is provided with either cement or wooden walks, so that one can pass from any one building to another in the camp without leaving the walks or roads.

NUMBER OF MEN ACCOMMODATED AND COST.

The camps already constructed provide winter accommodations for 145,000 men. Camps under construction or authorized for construction will provide winter accommodations for 53,000 men. The total number of men provided for when the work under construction and authorized is completed will be 198,000 men.

Naval training camps completed, under construction, and authorized for construction will cost about \$57,000,000.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1918.

UNITED STATES NAVAL ORDNANCE PLANT, SOUTH CHARLESTON, W. VA.

The United States Naval Ordnance Plant, South Charleston, W. Va., is a combination of the two plants known as the Projectile Plant and the Armor Plant. In August, 1917, contracts for the construction of that portion of the plant originally known as the Projectile Plant were let and construction work begun almost immediately. During construction plans were modified to permit of the manufacture of light gun forgings. Construction work for this portion of the plant is now complete and the manufacture of steel was begun in June, 1918.

Plans for that portion of the plant originally known as the Armor Plant are practically complete and construction work has already begun. This work is being pushed as rapidly as possible, and it is thought that the manufacture of steel may be begun in August, 1919.

Five submarine bases have been authorized, at an expenditure involving over \$5,000,000. In addition thereto there have been provided in this country over 60 section bases or repair points, where scout patrol and other vessels may resort for repairs and supplies. This work involves an ultimate expenditure of nearly \$2,500,000.

MEMORANDUM ON NAVAL PROVING GROUND, INDIANHEAD, MD.

A vast amount of construction has been completed and is under way at the naval proving ground, Indianhead, to assure the proposed doubling of the output of powder contemplated by the Bureau of Ordnance. Among the regular items may be cited the Navy nitrate plant, for which Congress has already provided in excess of \$9,000,000. And quite as important as any other feature is the railroad connection now under way from White Plains, Md., to the proving ground reservation which will give direct railroad connection and assure proper transportation facilities, from the lack of which the proving ground has suffered in the past, it being wholly dependent on water transportation. For this latter item, \$850,000 is required.

ORDNANCE STORAGE.

For the storage of ordnance more than 250 buildings have been provided at a cost of approximately \$7,500,000. This construction will provide ample space for the storage of the Navy's increased program in the production of the ordnance supplies. All of this work, except about 60 buildings, contracts for which have been let this spring and summer, is completed. The remaining buildings will be completed in ample time for the need.

IMPROVEMENTS AT NAVY YARDS.

Shipbuilding facilities and improvements for the construction of ships at the different navy yards have been made or are being made as follows:

Portsmouth: Improvements of this yard consist mainly of equipping the yard for the construction of additional submarines, the projects being construction of additional building ways and the rearrangement and extension of shop buildings and equipment, such as foundry, machine shop, and cranes.

Boston: Yard is equipped for the construction of auxiliaries and improvements consist mainly of rearrangement of equipment and extension of shops and building ways.

New York: Improvements at this yard, which is already equipped for the construction of battleships, consist principally of equipping the yard for the construction of additional battleships. The principal improvements are a shipbuilding slip for the construction of battleships; a new structural shop 200 by 576 feet, which will be completed by early spring, extension to existing machine shop. All necessary equipment for these projects, including heating and lighting cranes, and mechanical equipment and other accessories, are included in the improvements.

Philadelphia: This yard, already equipped for the construction of auxiliaries, is being equipped for the construction of battleships and battle cruisers. The principal features of the improvements are one building slip 700 feet long for battleship construction, and one 900 feet long for battle-cruiser construction; structural shop, 300 by 700 feet; foundry, 180 by 648 feet, with material yard; machine-shop extension, 120 by 325 feet; central power plant, with distributing system, etc.; galvanizing plant; oxygen, hydrogen, acetylene generating plant; fitting-out pier, 100 by 1,000 feet, including foundations for a 350-gross-ton crane. All of these above improvements, with the exception of the 350-ton crane, will be completed this year.

Norfolk: The Norfolk yard, already equipped for the construction of destroyers, is being equipped for the construction of battleships. The principal features of the improvements are a shipbuilding slip 700 feet long for battleship construction; structural shop 300 by 700 feet; foundry 180 by 408 feet, with material yard; machine shop 130 by 600 feet; central power plant; fitting-out pier 100 by 1,000 feet, including foundations for 350 gross-ton crane. The yard force is at work on a railroad, street, and sewer connections, and the completion of all of these projects with the exception of the 350-ton crane is scheduled for this year.

Charleston: This yard, already equipped for the construction of destroyers or small auxiliaries, is being equipped for the construction of additional destroyers. The most important improvements are three additional building slips for destroyers and three reinforced-concrete buildings for pattern shop, public works building, and machinists' mate school. The other improvements consist of minor extensions. The construction of destroyer ways are being carried out by yard labor.

Mare Island: The Mare Island yard, already equipped for the construction of destroyers and battleships, is being equipped for the construction of additional destroyers and larger battleships. The principal features, which have been or will be completed this year, are additional double ways for destroyers, extension of battleship ways for 700-foot ships, machine shop extension and accessory shop. At the present time bids have been received for the construction of a structural shop group to cost approximately \$2,000,000.

Puget Sound: This yard, formerly equipped for the construction of submarines only, is being equipped for the construction of auxiliaries, battle cruisers, or battleships, and for mine sweepers or destroyers. The main features are a shipbuilding slip of dry-dock type 130 by 950 feet, served by traveling hammer-head cranes; accessory shop and yard improvements; also timber ways for two mine-sweeper tugs in tandem or four single destroyers. All projects are due for completion by the end of this year.

STORAGE FACILITIES AT NAVY YARDS.

Allotments have been made for storage facilities at the following yards:

Boston, \$500,000; New York, \$1,200,000; Philadelphia, \$500,000; Norfolk, \$800,000; Mare Island, \$250,000; Charleston, \$225,000; Puget Sound, \$500,000; Pearl Harbor, \$100,000; and for miscellaneous and temporary storehouses, \$100,000. In addition, funds have become available for the following items:

General storehouse, New London, Conn.	120,000
General storehouse, Newport, R. I.	148,000
General storehouse, Washington Navy Yard.	400,000
Medical supply depot, Brooklyn, N. Y.	200,000
Medical supply depot, Mare Island, Cal.	125,000

These structures have been designed uniformly with previous structures and in accordance with the revised bureau code. All storehouses are now under contract or have been completed. The storehouses at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Mare Island are completed and in use and the others well under way. The New York building is the largest of its kind in the world. It is 11 stories high, 180 feet wide, and 360 feet long, without courts, and contains 712,000 square feet of floor area. It was constructed in record time by the Turner Construction Co., of New York City. Contract was awarded April 21, 1917, work on the site was started May 21, 1917, and the building completed December 13, 1917. Three thousand seven hundred and seventy-six Raymond concrete piles were used, averaging about 23 feet in length.

In addition to the above, increased storehouse facilities are being provided at Boston; a new storehouse at Philadelphia; a coal-storage plant at Hampton Roads has been completed; storehouses are under way at Newport, Philadelphia, and Norfolk. In addition, facilities for the storage of lumber, steel, and boats are receiving the specific attention of the bureau.

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FUEL-OIL STORAGE.

Contracts have been awarded to provide storage for approximately 50,000,000 gallons of fuel oil, at the cost of \$3,850,000. Information relative to these projects follows:

Melville, R. I.: Five million gallons' storage in concrete reservoirs; contract awarded August, 1917. Work now approximately completed. Actual cost, approximately \$365,000.

Guantanamo, Cuba: Six million gallons' storage; contract awarded April, 1917. Work now approximately completed. Approximate cost, \$550,000.

Pearl Harbor: Six million gallons' storage; contract awarded November, 1917. Approximate cost, \$530,000; work 30 per cent completed.

Puget Sound: Eight million gallons' storage; reinforced concrete; contract awarded November, 1917. Estimated cost, approximately \$475,000. Work approximately 30 per cent completed.

San Diego: Two million gallons' concrete storage; contract awarded January, 1917. Approximate cost, \$350,000. Work approximately 30 per cent completed.

Chesapeake Bay: Twenty-one million gallons' reinforced concrete storage, with necessary equipment and wharf; estimated cost, \$1,600,000. Contracts for wharf, reservoirs, and equipment already awarded. Wharf approximately 50 per cent completed; reservoirs 20 per cent; equipment contract just recently awarded.

Overseas: In April, 1918, the bureau purchased one 50,000-gallon gasoline tank and two 200,000-gallon gasoline tanks, all of steel construction, for transshipment to and reerection. At the same time the bureau purchased nine 1,000,000-gallon fuel-oil tanks, three each to be erected overseas. At the same time the bureau purchased the necessary piping, pumps, valves, and fittings for the fuel-oil installation. Most of this material has already been shipped and is being installed under the supervision of the Navy. Recently a request was forwarded from Admiral Sims for three 2,000,000-gallon tanks for fuel oil, for erection at an important point. The bureau entered into contract for these three tanks, and they will be delivered at an early date.

RADIO STATIONS.

Several radio stations are now under construction. The one just recently completed at Annapolis, Md., is the largest high-tower radio station in the world. Detailed information regarding these installations follows:

Philadelphia: Two steel towers, each 300 feet high, were completed August, 1917. Operating building and operators' quarters were completed shortly thereafter.

Cuban Government: In June, 1917, the bureau, at the request of the Republic of Cuba, took bids and awarded contract for 18 towers for use in connection with the radio work in the Republic of Cuba. Fourteen of these towers were 200 feet high, the remaining 4 being 300 feet high. In June, 1918, the bureau added, at the request of the Republic of Cuba, six 200-foot towers, making a total of 24 radio towers. The total tonnage of these towers were 1,120, including the six additional noted above. Arrangements were made with the Cuban Government to have the material shipped from the United States to Cuba by means of a Cuban transport, which is being loaded now at a dock in Baltimore. The original fourteen 200-foot towers and a large percentage of the four 300-foot towers are on the dock ready for shipment. It is anticipated that the entire work will be completed within the next six weeks. Approximate cost, \$140,000.

Virgin Islands: Contract awarded December, 1917, for two 200-foot steel towers; approximate cost, \$20,000. Work now approximately 75 per cent completed.

El Cayer, P. R.: Contracts awarded October, 1917, for three 600-foot radio towers and necessary buildings. Approximate cost, \$250,000. Work on buildings now approximately completed. Work on towers approximately 60 per cent completed.

Annapolis: Contract for four 600-foot towers entered into November 1, 1917. Approximate cost, \$690,000. Contract for radio buildings, wharf, radio-water system, electric systems, and other incidentals awarded October 15, 1917. Work now completed. Station actually placed in commission and first message sent to France first week of this month.

France: In January, 1918, entered into contract for eight 820-foot towers, France, on the basis of erection of the towers by enlisted personnel. Material was actually purchased, fabricated, and shipped complete by August 30, 1918. Erection is now going forward. The total estimated cost of Navy work is \$635,000.

On September 19 the bureau was authorized to proceed with the construction of twenty 500-foot radio towers, which are to be located near Monroe, N. C. The total estimated cost of this work, with the necessary buildings and service system, omitting the consideration of the work to be done by Steam Engineering, will be approximately \$3,600,000. It is expected that five of these towers and all buildings and service systems will be complete so that the station may be put in operation on or before May 1, 1919.

Contracts were entered into for various minor installations of radio buildings at various stations, notably three 200-foot towers at Norfolk, with receiving building; radio building at Charleston, S. C.; compass stations at various small radio stations all along the Atlantic coast; radio towers at Valdez, Alaska; radio buildings at North Truro, Sayville, Tuckerton, and other places. These are all installations, however, of minor character.

OPERATING BASE AT HAMPTON ROADS, VA.

One of the outstanding accomplishments of the year has been the partial development of the operating base at Hampton Roads. It has long been needed.

Congestion at the Norfolk Navy Yard and Training Station made the provision of some base, outside of the navy yard, an absolute necessity, and Congress provided for the purchase and initiation of the development of the operating base at Hampton Roads.

It was the original intention that one of the activities at Hampton Roads was to be a training station for 8,000 men. This is now in operation, and has been for some time, with an expanded capacity up to 15,000 men.

A second activity is aviation operating base, originally intended for a double coastal unit, and for the operation of two coastal patrol balloons. Aviation activities now include training as well as operation, and there is at least twenty times the activities in the air contemplated originally.

The submarine basin for the accommodation of 20 submarines is now under construction and will soon be available for the use of submarines, destroyers, and the small district patrol craft.

A very important activity contemplated at Hampton Roads consisted of storehouses for fleet stores, so that these might be stored where accessible to the fleet and removed from the navy yard, thus leaving the yard storehouses for the storage of yard material exclusively. There have been completed a number of temporary storehouses for the storage of mines and mining gear. There is a storehouse for general fleet stores now approaching completion, also a cold-storage plant to take care of the supplies for the training station, aviation station, submarine base, and the fleet.

The necessity for the fuel-oil storage and coal storage originally planned at this station has been eliminated by the establishment of fuel-oil tank capacity in the immediate vicinity of the station and connecting up by piping, and the development of large coal-storage capacity at Newport News, Lambert's Point, and Sewells Point.

One permanent pier 1,300 feet long is approaching completion. One temporary pier has been in use for some time in the handling of materials for the construction of the remainder of the station.

Retaining walls and dredging, to permit the deep-water vessels approaching the piers, and the filling in behind the retaining walls, is largely increasing the original area purchased.

The value of this development and the necessity of its continuance is becoming more apparent daily to the yard, the department, and the fleet.

GREAT LAKES.

The naval training camp located at Great Lakes, Ill., is the largest of all the naval training establishments, providing accommodations for about 50,000 men. The first training camp buildings constructed at Great Lakes were begun immediately after the outbreak of the war.

As it became apparent that the Great Lakes camps would have to be greatly expanded in order to provide for the greatly increasing requirements for naval training, a comprehensive scheme of camp location was attempted. The original naval training station which existed before the war formed a nucleus for a later development. The station is located on a high bluff overlooking the west shore of Lake Michigan. The camps have expanded in northerly, southerly, and westerly directions on land lent to or purchased by the Government.

The present training camps at Great Lakes comprise a modern city in wood, every essential facility being provided. The buildings are heated by steam from central power plants, lighted by electricity, and furnished with water by underground systems of piping. The water is taken from Lake Michigan and purified for pumping through the mains. A complete sewer system is provided and sewage disposal is required before turning the effluent into Lake Michigan.

The camps at Great Lakes together have cost more than \$14,000,000, and all construction conducted since July, 1917, has been the result of advertising for competitive bids from plans and specifications provided in the Bureau of Yards and Docks to cover all types of building construction, utilities, and services. Great Lakes has every facility in incoming detention and in outgoing detention to isolate the incoming and outgoing recruits from the main camp as a protection against disease.

The buildings number several hundred in all and include barracks buildings, mess halls, latrines, detention buildings, dispensaries, storehouses, garages, fire stations, administration buildings, power plants, water supply, sewage-disposal plants, drill halls, swimming schools, bakeries, laundries, machinists' mates and aviation schools, yeoman schools, shop buildings, and various other shop and school buildings for training purposes. The reservation is subdivided into regimental camps for the better administering of training.

NAVAL TRAINING CAMP AT PELHAM, N. Y.

The naval training camp at Pelham is located at City Island, on Rodmans Neck, Pelham Park, in the borough of The Bronx, New York. Permission to build this site in the park was obtained from the city officials in June, 1917, and the construction of the camp, to accommodate 5,000 men, was begun in July, 1917. The camp was divided into three parts—the main training camp, the detention camp, and the camp hospital. The cost of the original work for the 5,000 men was

approximately \$2,000,000. The barracks buildings were one-story structures arranged about a centrally located parade ground. The mess halls were large, airy structures with a centrally located kitchen arranged to feed in each wing of the building 500 men on the cafeteria system. Latrines were also large structures fitted to accommodate 500 men. The camp is located amongst trees, and only such trees as were necessary to locate the buildings in a symmetrical plan were removed. In the spring of 1918 an extension was authorized to provide for an additional 10,000 men, 8,000 of which were to be in the extension to the main camp and 1,000 to be in the incoming isolation and 1,000 in the outgoing isolation. The extension to the main camp was located on an oval-shaped piece of property and connected to the old camp by a wooden highway bridge. With the extension to the old camp was authorized swimming schools built with reinforced concrete tanks about 75 feet long and 25 feet wide; also a large drill hall, approximately 200 feet wide and 450 feet long; the floor of which has a wearing surface of asphalt to soften the floor for marching and to prevent flying dust, which would have been very unhealthful to men when drilling indoors. This camp was constructed entirely by the Bureau of Yards and Docks. The bureau, through its public-works officer, hired all of the mechanics and labor employed on this work and purchased all of the materials required for the entire camp. The cost of this camp was approximately \$6,500,000. This camp is now occupied to its full capacity, a total of 15,000 men. Complete services, such as concrete roads, sewers, water supply, electric service, and steam heat, was provided for the entire development.

HAMPTON ROADS.

Naval Training Camp, Hampton Roads, is located on the property of the old Jamestown Exposition grounds at Hampton Roads, Va. This property was purchased by the Government for the purpose of developing a naval operating base and combining with it a naval training station. The training camp construction was begun in the early part of July, 1917.

With the acquisition of this property the Government became possessed of the old exposition buildings, which were incorporated in the general design for the camps.

The work originally authorized provided for habitation for 10,000 men. The buildings were grouped about the old exhibition administration buildings, which were incorporated in the design of the camp for use as such. The camp was divided about a centrally located parade ground and provision was made at the easterly end of the camp for approximately 5,000 men in a detention unit. The original cost of this camp was approximately \$4,500,000. This camp provides for schools of instruction, such as rigging schools, music schools, commissary schools, electrical schools, general schools, and steward schools.

Later, a one-thousand-man isolation detention group was added to the naval training camp. This work was constructed by the King Lumber Co., after taking competitive bids.

At various times authorizations have been granted for the construction of additional buildings, such as swimming schools, drill halls, gynecologic schools. The complete service, such as roads, walks, sewers, water supply, fencing, central heating plant, etc., were installed for the entire camp.

In September, 1914, the bureau was directed to construct an extension to the naval training station on property bounded on the eastward by Bouch Creek, Willaby Bay on the northeast, and the Virginia Railroad on the southeast. This new camp provides for 14,000 additional men, to be administered from the original camp on the Jamestown site. Two thousand of these men will be in the incoming isolation group and 2,000 men in the outgoing isolation group, and 10,000 men in the main camp. Provision has been made for swimming schools and additional instruction schools.

All of these new barracks buildings will be two stories in height and the men arranged in groups to be messed in four large mess halls, each feeding 25,000 men on the cafeteria system.

Complete plans and specifications for this work were compiled by the bureau. Work was begun about the middle of September, and the time of completion for the entire camp buildings fixed at 125 calendar days. It is estimated that this camp will cost, when completed, including all service, such as storehouse, power plants, roads, water supply, sewers, and electric lighting, approximately \$5,000,000.

MARINE BARRACKS, QUANTICO, VA.

One of the two principal establishments for training Marines for the Navy is located at Quantico, Va., about 40 miles from Washington on the west bank of the Potomac River.

The Marines receive a training similar to that given the Army recruits, so that their barracks are modeled more or less after the Army organization. The camp is subdivided into an infantry camp, artillery school, and officers' school, and includes hospital facilities, storage, and commissary facilities.

The camp is fully equipped with modern roads and walks, water supply, mains, sewer system, garbage incineration. The first construction at Quantico provided for 5,000 men. An extension to the Quantico camp to provide for 2,800 additional recruits was started during the spring of this year. Complete plans and specifications for the work were prepared in the Bureau of Yards and Docks, and include 270 buildings of different descriptions. The contract price for the King Lumber Co. contract was \$1,085,562.

PARIS ISLAND, S. C.

The second important establishment for training recruits for the Marine Corps is located at Paris Island, Port Royal, S. C. Paris Island is located off the coast of South Carolina, is located on the Beaufort River southeasterly from Charleston.

The first camp at Paris Island was constructed in 1917 and was modeled like Quantico after the Army plans. It provided for about 2,500 men. As a result of congressional action increasing the personnel of the Marine Corps it was found necessary to increase the size of the camp at Paris Island as well as at Quantico. Plans and specifications were prepared during the spring of 1918 in the Bureau of Yards and Docks covering all points of the construction of and extension to the Paris Island camps, and provided for quarters for 5,000 additional recruits.

Construction was provided at six different points on the island, as follows: Extension to the training camp, increasing the facilities at the main station, quarantine station, and existing rifle range, and establishing a new rifle range, and a group of buildings at the maneuver grounds. The buildings include barracks buildings, mess halls, latrines, officers' quarters, outbuildings, administration building, post exchange, library and recreation building, lecture hall, post office, clerk school, auto-repair shop, bakeshop, radio school, pump house, bowling alleys, ice plant, meat-cutting room, resthouse, guardhouse, a group of hos-

pital buildings, and storage buildings, a pier and sea wall. This camp, like Quantico, is provided with roads and walks, water supply and sewer systems, fire-fighting facilities, and sewage disposal. The work of constructing the extension to the marine barracks at Paris Island will cost \$1,852,297 under the contract.

CODDINGTON POINT.

As a result of the acceptance by the Navy Department of the training of the merchant marine it was necessary to establish a new naval training camp at Coddington Point, Newport, R. I. This establishment provides facilities for 15,000 men. Plans and specifications were prepared in the Bureau of Yards and Docks to cover all points of the intricate construction of this camp, which is the largest single camp contract ever prepared by the Navy. The work was awarded to the lowest bidder for approximately \$3,500,000. Coddington Point is located a short distance from the naval station, Newport, and is connected by bridge with Coasters Harbor Island, where a naval training camp for 7,000 men is provided.

The layout of the camp at Coddington Point is typical of the latest naval training camp construction. It includes the following features:

Regimental training unit.	
Regimental barracks, 104 men each	107
Latrines	35
Mess halls to accommodate 11,000 men	5
Regimental quartermasters' buildings	11
Regimental office buildings	11
Battalion commanders' offices	35
Brigade headquarters	2
Dispensaries	4
Large drill halls, 100 by 350 feet each	4
Barracks for chief petty officers accommodating 100 men each	2
Large storehouses, 60 by 350 feet each	4
Garages for 15 cars each	2

Barracks for cooks and many other features such as would be necessary for the service of a city of 15,000 inhabitants. The total number of buildings provided is 373.

An interesting point in connection with the camp at Coddington is the installation of four swimming pools, complete with pumping, heating, and filtration facilities. These swimming pools are under roof and built of concrete, with showers and locker rooms.

DETENTION UNIT.

This division of a typical camp, such as the Coddington project, will accommodate 4,000 men, 2,000 incoming and 2,000 outgoing. In addition to the barracks would be found two laundries, four dispensaries, four isolation wards, two executive buildings, two office buildings, two storehouses, two garages, and a large receiving building. Where such buildings occur in pairs, it is to be noted that one is in connection with incoming recruits and one in connection with those outgoing.

The completed camp at Coddington Point will include development of the water supply from a distant point, purification of the water supply, a system of fresh-water mains and a salt-water system of mains for flushing and fire-protection purposes. The camp will be provided with large pumping units for fire protection, adequate power plants, and for heating and lighting the camp. A complete sanitary sewer system is also provided and a system of roads and walks. The site is surrounded on three sides by water and is most picturesque. The camp when complete, including heating, lighting, and other services, will cost about \$6,000,000.

INFORMATION ABOUT THE TRAINING CAMP, GULFPORT, MISS.

The naval training camp is located on the Mississippi Centennial Exposition Grounds on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico, near Gulfport, Miss. The regimental and isolation group of buildings, the alterations to existing exposition buildings, and complete outside services, such as roads, sewers, gas, electricity, and hospital group, are being constructed. Camp now accommodates 2,100 men. Plans provide for extension for total of 2,500 or more if necessary.

Complete plans and specifications, covering every item entering into the work, were prepared by the Bureau of Yards and Docks and advertised for bids. The award in each case was made to the low bidder, as the result of competitive bidding. The cost of the main regimental group, isolation group, outside services, drill ground, pier, and other accessories, when completed, will be about \$500,000, and the hospital group \$100,000, making a total cost of the completed naval training camp, \$600,000.

A comprehensive plan of the camp was made with a full appreciation of the esthetic value of the original exposition layout of grounds and buildings, and only such modifications to these original grounds and buildings were made as was necessary to adapt them for camp purposes and provide a suitable mess hall, storehouse, armory, receiving building, officer-of-the-day building, and headquarters building. Temporary buildings, comprising the regimental, isolation groups, and hospital groups, were arranged in such a manner as to interfere as little as possible with the palm court, vistas, trees, and other landscape-gardening features in the original layout. These groups are composed of officers' quarters, barracks, mess halls, latrines, wash houses, storehouses, brig and guardhouse, dispensary, and garages.

Shell roads were laid out and built as originally planned for the exposition with such additional roads as were necessary to serve the needs of the camp. A garbage incinerator, a landing pier, grading of the ground to provide for a drill field, and a sewerage-disposal plant are also provided in this contract. The training camp generally has the following major divisions: Administration, isolation, main regimental, hospital, commissary, and service.

MARINE CORPS.

Barracks of modern construction for the Marine Corps are under way at several points. Information relative to these operations follow:

Philadelphia: In September, 1917, contract was awarded for an extension to quartermaster's storehouse, at an estimated cost of approximately \$300,000. This work was later increased by another contract for mechanical equipment and still a further contract for another building, the total increase amounting to approximately \$400,000. Work is now approximately 75 per cent completed.

Philadelphia Marine Barracks: Contract awarded November 26, 1917. These barracks to accommodate 400 men, approximate cost \$200,000. Work now practically 90 per cent completed.

Philadelphia advance-base storehouse: Contract awarded June, 1917. Estimated cost, \$76,000. Work completed December, 1917.

Peking, China: Contract entered into July, 1918. Estimated cost, \$130,000. Work now going forward.

San Diego: Contract for dredging at San Diego, Marine Corps. Base was awarded January, 1918, and work is satisfactorily progressing with the dredging and filling. Plans and specifications for the Marine Corps base are being prepared and it is anticipated that they will be issued for bids within the next month. This total project will cover about \$5,000,000.

NAVAL ACADEMY.

Work of extending the Naval Academy is well under way, a very satisfactory plan having been worked out for the extension of Bancroft Hall, the midshipmen's dormitory.

One of the wings accommodating about 550 midshipmen will be completed and ready for occupancy by October, 1918, and the remaining wing in February, 1919. The extension of the mess hall and its accompanying utilities will be completed by the same time, allowing for the messing of the maximum number of midshipmen, for which accommodations are to be provided. The extension of Isherwood Hall is under contract and will be completed early in October, 1918, including the enlargement of the forge shop. Temporary quarters have been completed which will accommodate about 450 reserve officers stationed at the academy for training. These quarters include a recreation and lecture hall large enough to seat the whole number of men.

Work on the high-power radio station at Annapolis is complete. Extensive additions to the power-plant equipment and outside distributing systems are required to take care of the additional buildings. This work is well under way and will be finished by the time the new buildings are ready for occupancy.

DRY DOCKS.

Three naval dry docks are in course of construction at the present time and two other dry docks for which under congressional authority the Secretary of the Navy was authorized to enter into contract for naval purposes at a guaranteed minimum annual rental, all five docks being of such dimensions as to permit of docking the largest vessels capable of passing through the locks of the Panama Canal. In addition to these, appropriations have been made by Congress for the construction of a 1,000-foot dock at the navy yard, Charleston, S. C.

The two dry docks authorized at the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress were placed under contract under favorable terms after public competition, the Norfolk Navy Yard dock in November, 1916, and the Philadelphia Navy Yard dock in April, 1917.

Work has progressed very satisfactorily on the Norfolk dock and at present it is expected that the dock will be completed ready for use by December of this year, approximately a year in advance of the contract date, due for completion. Satisfactory progress has been made on the Pearl Harbor Dry Dock, which it is expected will be completed early in 1919. Considering the unusual difficulties under which this dock is being constructed and the fact that no dock has ever been built by any such radical method as is being employed on this contract, the status of the work is considered as very satisfactory. The progress of construction of the dry dock being built by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts at Boston has been more satisfactory than during the preceding year. Shortage of labor and difficulty in securing materials have had their influences, however, upon the progress of the work upon this dry dock during the past year. From present indications this dock will probably be completed in 1919. Congress has authorized the use of this dock by the Navy Department under practically the same conditions as those applying to the dry dock of the Union Iron Works in San Francisco, Cal. The Union Iron Works dock is approximately 90 per cent complete.

BUREAU OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

When war began the Medical Corps of the Navy numbered about 300 commissioned officers. To-day we have that many Navy medical officers on duty in European waters or ashore in foreign countries. To-day the Medical Corps consists of 3,000 officers, all of whom are actually required for the present needs of the service and would not suffice in the event of further expansion. All these accessions to the Medical Corps were taken in after physical and professional examinations and they have received special training for military service and special professional training at the Naval Medical School, Washington, D. C., at naval hospitals, on board cruising ships of the Navy, and at great medical centers like New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, where intensive courses, both didactic and practical, were conducted for their benefit by the best professional talent in the country. The Dental Corps at the beginning of the war numbered 30 officers. It now has 500 members and the demand for their services has not even been fully met. As in the case of the doctors the dentists now serving abroad are numerically equal to the corps of two years ago. At the front, serving in the field with the marines in France, we have medical officers and dental officers. Their record is known from the newspapers. The first commissioned officer of the Navy proper to die in battle on the soil of France was Dental Surg. W. E. Osborne, fatally wounded while carrying a wounded comrade from the field. He was posthumously awarded the distinguished-service cross by Gen. Pershing.

Equal courage and fortitude has been shown by members of the Hospital Corps, the male nurses of the Navy, who serve on our battle-ships and go into action with the marines, sharing every danger with their comrades of other branches of the service. The Hospital Corps in July, 1916, numbered 1,585 men. To-day the corps consists of 14,000 men, for whom we have four large, thoroughly organized training schools and many smaller centers of instruction.

The female nurse corps comprises 1,128 women, of whom 260 are serving at our naval hospitals and dispensaries in England and France. We have more than doubled, nearly trebled, our enrollment of female nurses for active service since last year. The Navy nurses are without exception women of unusual ability and the highest character. They continue to show in every emergency the fidelity and devotion which has always characterized them.

The most carefully planned arrangements have been carried out during the past year and are now being increased and elaborated in every direction for the care of our sick and wounded. During the first year of the war we completed sufficient emergency hospital construction to increase the previously existing hospital facilities in 18 regular naval hospitals with their 1,600 beds by 114 new buildings, constructed and equipped—wards, contagious pavilions, operating rooms, quarters for female nurses and Hospital Corps men, storerooms, kitchens, mess halls, and barracks for civilian employees. By July, 1917, 2,700 additional beds had been provided for the sick. The buildings since completed, now nearing completion or contracted for and under way, will give the medical department of the Navy a patient capacity of between eleven and twelve thousand beds. For example, the hospital at Norfolk, Va., which had been increased last year to one thousand four

hundred-odd beds will soon have 900 more beds. The hospital at Hampton Roads is being increased from 750 to 900. Brooklyn is being prepared for 500 additional patients, and Pelham Bay Park for an increase of 500 over last year, making 750. When I say beds I mean to include all the necessities for that many sick—heating, lighting, food, ambulance service, skilled nursing and skilled professional attendance, medical, surgical, and dental. At the Great Lakes Training Station the hospital capacity is about 1,300. An additional 200 beds are being provided. The three hundred and fifty-odd beds at Charleston, S. C., are to be doubled. League Island, Pa., which last year had 200 beds in 17 buildings, will shortly accommodate 600 additional patients in 30 additional buildings. The old Philadelphia Hospital is being increased this year by 300 additional beds, and a contract has been awarded for an addition to the hospital at League Island of 500 beds. In addition to this a hospital of 175 beds is going up at New London, Conn. At Wards Island, N. Y., 15 barrack buildings are under construction, which will accommodate 800 beds. In all these buildings attention has been given to adequate heating and ventilation. A full allowance of floor space and cubic air space is assured for each bed.

The list of beds here given represents the accommodation for patients only, and it must not be forgotten that the necessary attendant personnel for these patients is large and requires housing too. Thus, with the money expended in this hospital construction, there have been obtained also quarters for doctors, dentists, male and female nurses, and civilian employees, which may be estimated in terms of beds as from 40 to 50 per cent more than the number cited.

It remains to be said in this connection that while buildings were going up and equipment was being assembled arrangements with the best civilian hospitals of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia provided immediate accommodation and skilled treatment for any excess of sick over and above the naval facilities of the moment. Such sick as were sent to civilian institutions continued under the medical surveillance of the Navy, whose doctors were responsible for their welfare and their behavior.

In spite of the interference with business, caused by the war, the medical department of the Navy has not at any time lacked and does not now lack ample supplies of instruments, drugs, and dressings. Substitutes have been found for certain articles needed for the sick; others have been modified, where the cost was prohibitive or it was impossible to obtain them from abroad. All the thousands of recruits who have joined the colors have been vaccinated against smallpox and have received antityphoid prophylaxis. Not only were the candidates for enrollment examined by medical officers at recruiting stations, but trained psychiatrists have been at work in our training camps to weed out from the beginning those who were mentally and temperamentally unfit for the strain of war, aiming not only to remove this element of weakness from the fighting forces, but to prevent the shipwreck in individual cases, due to infringements of discipline and their consequent punishment, which invariably mark the career of these unfortunates when they are encompassed by the iron restraints of military discipline.

A most vital part of the work of the medical department of the Navy has been in the field of hygiene and sanitation. Important as it is to treat the sick it is more important still to ward off the dangers incident to large assemblages of men in camps, barracks, and ships by preventive measures.

The Bureau of Medicine and Surgery had a voice in the planning of our new training stations and in the modification of the existing ones when the expansion of the Navy began. Certain fundamental principles of housing, berthing, ventilation, isolation, and observation were laid down for the handling of recruits, and while epidemics of meningitis, measles, and mumps have occurred, they have been limited and controlled. While recognizing the need for rapidity of enrollment and training, the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery has stood out for systematic, concerted effort against overcrowding and has insisted that preparations for the adequate handling of men must keep pace with the recruiting of them. Two features stand out prominently in the Navy training-camp arrangements. They were accepted experimentally at first. To-day their enormous value has been fully recognized by naval military authorities. They are the detention system and the small-unit barracks. By detention system is meant that all recruits reporting at a training camp or station are housed, fed, and drilled apart for a period of 14 to 21 days. During this period contagious cases or men capable of carrying infection are sent to hospital or subjected to special observation. The detention period permits of careful vaccination and inoculation against smallpox and typhoid fever, while the new arrivals are gradually growing accustomed to their new environment and duties. Homesickness and discouragement are prone to attack the young recruit, and he is peculiarly susceptible to fatigue and physical deterioration, and therefore to epidemic diseases in the first days after enrollment. When the period of training at camp and barrack is over and the recruit has reached the point where he is ready to go aboard ships, a further detention is instituted to protect the personnel of battleship and cruiser from the introduction of contagion from abroad. During the early weeks of the war this so-called outgoing detention was not in full operation and epidemic diseases developed in the personnel afloat, but this no longer happens. The other important point in the Navy training-camp system is the small-unit barrack. The Bureau of Medicine and Surgery has urged that men be housed together in small groups, preferably 9 to 12, never more than 35 or 50 to a building, each man to have a minimum of 50 square feet of floor space. The tendency to overcrowding is inevitable, but abundant cubic air space is the most essential prerequisite of healthy camps.

Besides making these basal demands, the medical officers have exerted themselves to the limit of their strength to keep the men well by sanitary measures. They have had a gratifying success, if we may judge from the general admission rate for the entire Navy for all causes, including accidents and injuries as well as sickness, for the six months from January 1 to June 30, 1918. This admission rate means that when a man is put on the sick list for a boil it counts 1. If the same man later has measles, it counts 2. Later if he sprains his ankle, it means three admissions. The admission rate, as so interpreted, has been 716.5 per thousand men per annum. Compare this with the average admission rate for the eight years of peace from 1909 to 1916, which was 624.23. Consider that the period referred to included the months of January, February, March, and April, the wet, snowy, cold, inclement months, when sickness is most prevalent, when men want to shut windows and doors and ventilators and enjoy being crowded together for the sake of warmth and temporary comfort. Remember that the history of all military operations teaches the disproportionate increase of morbidity that accompanies concentration of men in large numbers. Remember that susceptibility is greatest in youth and that the average age of the Navy enlistments is well below that of land forces. You will then realize that, in spite of the coun-

try's unpreparedness, the need for dispatch and the work accomplished, the Navy's showing as to health has been reassuring, gratifying, splendid.

The factor of youth in causing sickness under stress is so great that I must give you one other figure to impress you with the value of our Navy medical service. It is a very striking figure. The admission rate for recruits in training for the half year alluded to was 1,086.04, as against the average admission rate for apprentice seamen during the preceding eight-year period of peace, which was 1,272.99.

For the sick and injured abroad we have a total hospital bed capacity, divided between England, Scotland, Ireland, and France, of over 3,000, of which 1,475 are in France and the balance in the British Isles. There are, in addition, less elaborate and temporary accommodations in France for 400 patients at smaller stations.

The medical department of the Navy has made special effort to prevent sickness among the troops going abroad in Navy transports. Careful thought has been given to the subject, and a very simple scheme has been put in operation. The Army embarks and disembarks the troops, and is expected to embark them free from disease, clean, properly vaccinated, etc. Army medical officers hold sick call for their respective units, and the men requiring to be turned in, that correspond in shore parlance to hospital cases, are berthed in the ship's sick bay under the care of the ship's Navy medical officers. Minor ailments are prescribed for by the Army doctors, and their prescriptions are filled in the sick bay from the ship's stores, so that the Army medical units may not have to break into their outfits and deplete them in transit. (The senior medical officer of the Navy aboard has charge of all sanitary measures.)

The Navy has three hospital ships—the old *Solace*, 20 years in the service and still having a limited usefulness, and two 10,000-ton vessels, originally Ward liners, which have been converted to ambulance ships and fully equipped for 300 patients each. These ships do not more than cover the needs of the Navy. Hence when the Army called for assistance in returning its sick and wounded from abroad it was decided in conference between the two services to utilize the sick bays or hospital facilities of returning transports. Of course these ships can not bring home in comfort as many sick and wounded as the well men they carry on the eastward voyage. The troops on the way to the front can put up with bunks on lower decks and can go up and down ladders to mess, to the toilet, to get into the air and sunlight, as the sick could not. Still this arrangement meets the need, provided the Army sick are evacuated and distributed to different ports so that no transport shall ever return without being filled to its legitimate sick-carrying capacity. The transports vary not only in size but in type of construction, which counts almost as much as size where proper handling of the sick is concerned.

To give some idea of the total patient capacity at present, as distinguished from troop capacity, of these ships, I may say that if they all sailed at once from Europe they would bring home in a single voyage:

Bedridden patients requiring a maximum of care and attention, all occupying hospital bunks.....	1, 400
Patients requiring surgical dressings and treatment but able to live in troop quarters.....	7, 800
Insane.....	600
Tuberculosis cases, either isolated or housed on open decks.....	975
Patients requiring no surgical attention quartered in officers' rooms.....	4, 900
Convalescents having the status of well men so far as berthing is concerned.....	76, 000
Total.....	91, 675

At the headquarters, in New York, of Admiral Gleaves, commanding the Transport and Cruiser Force, we have a medical officer of special ability, who acts in an advisory capacity on all matters sanitary. He inspects every transport coming in or going out, and, as opportunity permits, without delaying the expeditious transfer of men, institutes the changes and improvements which experience proves to be required. This doctor has made four trans-Atlantic voyages in transports for the sole purpose of acquiring full knowledge of conditions and problems connected with this service. Another medical officer is stationed at Newport News with identical functions. In each of two French ports we have a Navy medical officer who has had experience of transport service to facilitate the prompt distribution of Army patients to returning transports.

A brief reference should be made to the many enterprises, connected with war service, engaged in by the Medical Corps. The subject of gas warfare, the use of masks, the neutralization of poisonous gases and the treatment of the gassed has been fully mastered. The ventilation of submarines, the food appropriate to men serving in them, has been investigated and improved. Antiflash clothing has been devised to minimize the dangers from liquid fire, burning gunpowder, and explosives. Traveling laboratories have been organized at the medical school, and, on telegraphic request, their units, fully equipped, can proceed to the scene of an epidemic where personnel is overworked or facilities for bacteriological work are limited. The medical departments of the vessels of the fleet are fully prepared for the hazards of battle. The battle dressing stations, located behind armor and equipped with hot and cold water, with electric sterilizers, operating tables, and ample supplies of surgical dressings, manned by skillful and devoted doctors and attendants, are ready. A painstaking study has been made of all problems connected with the food and clothing of the men. Epidemic diseases have been investigated, both as regards prevention and treatment, and elaborate statistics have been tabulated. Instruction on all these topics has been given, as required, to doctors and nurses, and the personnel of the medical department has been kept fully abreast of all scientific advancement through quarterly and weekly publications, which embodied our own findings and all that could be observed by our representatives abroad or learned from current foreign literature.

Sanitary inspectors from the United States Public Health Service have worked with the Navy doctors to improve local conditions in the vicinity of our camps and stations, so that, instead of the presence of these camps being a menace to civilian communities they have proved a blessing, through destruction of mosquitoes and flies and improvement of water supplies, sewage and garbage disposal. Social conditions have also improved, and the fight against prostitution and venereal disease, begun by the Navy 15 years ago, has taken on vast and comprehensive proportions. Lectures and personal talks, moving-picture shows, distributed booklets and posters, have furthered the cause of clean living. Not only the physical man but his spiritual side has been considered and much has been accomplished to promote happiness and contentment as well as health among the men.

OFFICE OF THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL.

As the volume of work of this office is very largely dependent on the number of personnel in the service, it is evident how the pressure upon this office has increased by this sudden and extraordinary expansion. But in another respect also the change from a state of peace to that of war has placed heavy burdens on this department, because of the important war legislation affecting the personnel that suddenly became necessary, and because of the many new and varied questions of law that have been constantly arising out of the new conditions, as affecting both the Regular Establishment and more particularly the auxiliary arms of the service.

During the past year 4,831 men under naval jurisdiction were tried by general court-martial, as compared with 1,816 during 1917. This large increase was due to the increase in the naval personnel. During 1917 there were 95,548 men under naval jurisdiction, as compared with 412,415 during 1918. The percentage tried by general courts-martial during 1918 was 1.185, as compared with 2.23 during 1917. Men who have been convicted of purely military offenses are offered every opportunity to rehabilitate themselves in the service.

During the past year 4,505 men under naval jurisdiction were confined in naval prisons, as compared with 2,018 during the previous year. Additional buildings were constructed at Portsmouth to take care of this increase. Contracts have also been let for additional prison buildings at the naval prison, Paris Island, S. C.

Every effort is being made to reduce the number of men confined. All prisoners who are physically or mentally unfit are immediately discharged. That efforts have been successful is shown by the reduction in the percentage of imprisonments from 2.97 per cent in 1914 to 1.22 per cent in 1917, a result obtained while maintaining and improving the discipline of our armed forces. With the methods now employed it is hoped to still further reduce the percentage of imprisonments and make progress in the general lines indicated.

MARINE CORPS.

When war came to the United States in April, 1917, it found the Marine Corps with authorized enlisted strength of 17,500 officers and men. It was readily seen that this limit would be too small for the new activities of the corps, with the result that in May the authorized strength of the corps was increased by act of Congress to 30,000 men. Within less than six months voluntary enlistments to the corps were up to full strength, while the call was for "more marines." This accounts for the fact that the authorized strength of the corps now is 75,500, and after the 1st of October, when voluntary inductions will be allowed, the 20,000 men who are needed to bring the corps to its full strength will be readily obtained at a rate of 5,000 men a month.

War found the marines ready. In fact, three days before the breaking off of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, an order went forth for 50,000 pair of shoes for the corps and other matters of housing, equipment, and cantonment necessities were handled in the same efficient manner. There have been no troubles from overcrowding or from lack of food, clothing, or equipment in the Marine Corps.

Marines landed in France early in the summer of 1917. Owing to the need for experienced rear troops to guard the lines of communication, it was necessary for Gen. Pershing to scatter a number of the sea soldiers and use them for provost guards at base posts and in Paris. However, as soon as the necessary men to take their places arrived the marines were relieved from this duty and assigned to a "quiet sector" in the Verdun district, there to receive their initiation into war. They stood the tests so well that when Gen. Foch called for troops to help stem the German rush on Paris, the Fourth Brigade of Marines was rushed forward in company with the famous Twenty-third Infantry Regiment, and a crack French unit to achieve what then seemed an impossibility—the stemming of the German advance, with the Germans numbering four to one against the defenders of Paris.

This came in the vicinity of Chateau-Thierry with the battle that began May 27. From then on through the fierce encounters of Torcy, Boursches, Lucy, and Belleau Wood, the marines, who had been rushed to the conflicts in motors, fought night and day, enduring terrible hardships and terrific losses. But they achieved their aim—they not only stopped the German rush, but drove back the Huns and recaptured lost territory.

Their bravery caused the French Nation to change the name of Belleau Wood to "Bois de la Brigade des Marines," and to give the marines the credit of having saved Paris. To show the fighting spirit of the marines, it is only necessary to cite the fact that one battalion that went into the fight with 1,350 men, emerged with only 350. Another had only 450. Others with 600 and 800 were common. And the surprising part of it all was that the replacement troops who took the places of fallen men fought just as hard and as bravely as the more seasoned men. Some of the replacement troops were under fire for the first time when they hurried forward to reinforce the marines fighting near Belleau Wood and Boursches.

Following these battles, there was the necessary rest. Then when the great attack began on the Marne at Viller Cottent on July 17, the marines were again present, and again gave a good account of themselves.

The fighting in France does not encompass all the activities of the marines. Of course, the foregoing is in addition to the well-known duty of marines as a part of the Navy. Marine detachments as usual are maintained on board capital ships. Detachment at navy yards, ammunition depots, radio stations, and other naval activities have been largely increased since the beginning of the war, and the advance base force, comprising about 6,000 specially-trained marines, is standing by, ready for service at an instant's notice with the Navy.

The policing of various countries in cooperation with local authorities still continues—especially in Santo Domingo, where occasional brushes between the marines and bandits occur. There, too, the marines are living up to their reputation. Recently 10 men and a colonel, ambushed by brigands, killed 20 of the bandits, while the marine detachment suffered a casualty list of 1 mule.

The careful training of marine recruits has been heightened by the rush of war, rather than weakened. Recently it was brought to the attention of the Navy Department that the Thirteenth Regiment of marines had achieved almost perfection in marksmanship, with 95 per cent of its personnel qualifying on the range, and the ideal percentage of that personnel qualifying to scale. The ideal unit should possess one-seventh of its number in expert rifemen, two-sevenths in sharpshooters, and four-sevenths in marksmen. This division is to be found almost to the man in the 95 per cent of the Thirteenth which qualified.

Another point which illustrates the careful training of the United States marine:

Since the fighting began in France, up to September 21, 1918, 37 officers and 942 men are reported dead, 64 officers and 1,927 men are reported wounded, but only 11 are known to be in the hands of the enemy. The marines don't surrender. They fight.

In addition to the foregoing reported casualties, unofficial advices indicate a great many more casualties not included in the cablegrams from Gen. Pershing.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the following titles:

On September 24, 1918:

H. R. 12923. An act to supplement the second liberty-bond act, as amended, and for other purposes.

On September 26, 1918:

H. R. 11283. An act to amend and reenact sections 4, 11, 16, 19, and 22 of the act approved December 23, 1913, and known as the Federal reserve act, and sections 5208 and 5209, Revised Statutes.

On October 1, 1918:

H. J. Res. 333. Joint resolution to aid in combating "Spanish influenza" and other communicable diseases;

H. R. 12714. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919; and

H. J. Res. 334. Joint resolution making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of October, 1918, and for other purposes.

On October 5, 1918:

H. R. 11259. An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of those ores, metals, and minerals which have formerly been largely imported, or of which there is or may be an inadequate supply;

S. 4194. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors;

S. 4543. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors; and

S. 4722. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.

On October 10, 1918:

H. R. 12429. An act to authorize the health officer of the District of Columbia to permit the disinterment of the bodies of Eliza Hill Bowles, Bernice Worthem Bowles, and Bessie Vivian Bowles.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. MEEKER (on request of Mr. IGOE), indefinitely, on account of illness;

To Mr. WELLING (on request of Mr. MAYS), indefinitely, on account of sickness in his family; and

To Mr. McFADDEN, indefinitely, on account of illness.

Mr. KRAUS. Mr. Speaker, I ask indefinite leave of absence for my colleague, Mr. FAIRFIELD, on account of the serious illness of his son at Camp Taylor.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The correct way to make these requests is to come to the Clerk, fill out the blanks, and put them in, which would save time.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that to-morrow after disposition of matters on the Speaker's table that I be permitted to address the House for 40 minutes in reply to the charges made by the gentleman from Minnesota against the efficiency of the Post Office Department.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] makes the request that to-morrow, after the reading of the Journal and disposition of business on the Speaker's table, that he be permitted to address the House for 40 minutes about the Post Office Department and strictures thereon. Is there objection?

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I understand to-day we have a little business here—I do not know whether the gentleman from South Carolina wants to get in with his conference report or not?

Mr. LEVER. I would like to call up the conference report on the bill H. R. 11945.

The SPEAKER. What about the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. FOSTER. If it does not interfere with other matters—

Mr. BLANTON. That is for to-morrow.

Mr. FOSTER. I should not object.

Mr. WALSH. It will interfere with the rule, according to the request.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection. [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. FOSTER. That is, we understand it is not to interfere with these other matters.

Mr. WALSH. The request has been granted in the manner in which the Speaker phrased it.

Mr. FOSTER. Well, the Rules Committee can set it aside, as far as that is concerned.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman withhold his request for a moment?

Mr. BLANTON. It has already been granted.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Pennsylvania rise?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Pennsylvania. I ask permission to address the House for a few moments, with the privilege of extending my remarks in the Record, on the achievements of the Department of Labor.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to address the House for not exceeding five minutes, with the privilege of extending his remarks, on the achievements of the Department of Labor. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, 2,000,000 of our best and strongest men have gone into the fighting forces on the battle fields of Europe, while over a million more are in training in the various camps of the country. Their lives and their country's salvation are at stake. We must produce for those at home and we must produce for our soldiers at the front and for our men in the various cantonments in this country. For the battle line is not only in France. The battle line runs through our mills and factories here at home. The workers—and that includes the managers, the superintendents, and the men who make and carry things and the men employed in all our industries—they are all in the second line of defense; they are all comrades in the battle line for humanity and democracy.

That second line consists of an industrial army five to seven times as great as the military forces. We who are back in the second line are not privileged to go to France, so we will do our duty to the utmost here, with one goal in view—production. That means work, for only work can produce food, can produce ships and guns, can produce the equipment necessary for the boys in France.

Upon the United States Department of Labor rests, in a large measure, the duty of handling all of those questions which are so closely related to the mighty problems of production. This means that that department is charged with the duty of the adjustment of trade disputes, with securing the necessary employees for our industrial plants, with the conditions of labor as they affect the employees, with the training of labor, with industrial housing and transportation, and with the necessity of maintaining a fine spirit of cooperation and peaceful relations between employer and employees. And well has the Department of Labor met the very difficult industrial questions incident to the great war. Under the wise and capable direction of Secretary of Labor Wilson this department has been able to cope with and solve these problems as they presented themselves.

The Department of Labor is the department of the Government that deals with the intimate human relations, the inner American life. It represents no one element. It deals with the relations of all elements of our internal industry, for, after all, American life is, to a large degree, American industry. None of us is outside of it. So this department stands for all of us. This department is the youngest in the Cabinet, and notwithstanding that it is the youngest in the Cabinet its every activity has been a vital part of the great war program. To-day the department has eight divisions, showing the scope of its work. They are:

- Adjustment Service (including Division of Conciliation).
- United States Employment Service.
- Bureau of Labor Statistics.
- Bureau of Immigration.
- Children's Bureau.
- Bureau of Naturalization.
- Information and Education Service.
- Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation.
- The War Labor Policies Board.

ADJUSTMENT OF LABOR DISPUTES.

[Hugh L. Kerwin, Director.]

The first problems which faced the department were in connection with the adjustment of labor disputes.

The Mediation Service is under the immediate supervision of Hugh L. Kerwin and seeks to bring about an adjustment of labor disputes on terms mutually acceptable to employers and employees. A large force of trained and experienced conciliators keep constantly at work and in this way hundreds of industrial disputes are quietly adjusted. If they are unsuccessful, the good offices of the National War Labor Board are invoked.

This board is under the joint chairmanship of Hon. William H. Taft and Hon. Frank P. Walsh. The board is composed of an equal number of representatives of employers and employees, the employers having been nominated by the president of the National Industrial Conference Board, and the employees nominated by the president of the American Federation of Labor. Its functions are to decide questions at issue between employers and employees where adjustments have not been reached through the machinery of existing agreements or law.

Both of these services work in complete cooperation with the War Department, Navy Department, Shipping Board, Railroad Administration, and War Industries Board.

The Secretary of Labor himself has been responsible for the peaceable settling of many strikes. When you pick up your paper in the morning and read about a large number of men who have "walked out," you know instantly that the Secretary of Labor himself is working to bring the men and their employers together peaceably.

During the fiscal year of 1917, 378 cases were brought to the department for mediation. Of this number 248 cases were adjusted by commissioners of conciliation, 41 were settled before department took jurisdiction, 42 were pending at close of fiscal year, and in only 47 cases was the department unable to bring about an adjustment. The number of employees directly and indirectly concerned aggregated 807,959.

The department is now called upon to use its good offices in upward of 100 industrial controversies each month. A gratifying feature in connection therewith is that the machinery of conciliation is now utilized to adjust grievances while the men remain at their work. An interesting example of this is that I observed recently that in one week 77 cases were received, only 7 of which had reached the strike stage.

At this point I desire to pay a just tribute to the fine work of the National War Labor Board, which I mentioned a few minutes ago. This board, under the joint leadership of former President William H. Taft and Hon. Frank P. Walsh, has been of inestimable service to the country as a "supreme court of adjustment" when the existing machinery of conciliation has been unable to get a settlement. The marked absence in our daily newspapers of strike news in recent months is a tribute to the efficiency of the adjustment service, the Taft-Walsh Board and the other departmental services all working in fine cooperation for industrial peace. [Applause.]

I also desire to speak briefly of some of the other services of the Department of Labor which are ably meeting the strenuous conditions imposed by added burdens due to the war. There is the—

THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE.

[John B. Densmore, Director General.]

This service is the Government's "helping hand" for the people. Last May it placed more than 200,000 wage earners. On account of the war its functions have been greatly extended. Its purpose to-day is to locate surplus labor and distribute it to supply the needs of the Navy Department, War Department, Railroad Administration, Fleet Corporation, War Industries Board, and contractors doing war work. The general work is handled through a division of information, administration, and clearance. A public service reserve registers and card indexes people of all kinds of professional and technical attainments whose services may be needed by way of the departments or boards for war purposes, and also registers and card indexes a reserve of volunteer workmen for war industries; a boys' working reserve, organized principally for the purpose of training and utilizing the services of boys between the ages of 16 and 21 for seasonal occupations, such as farming; a division of farm service which works in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture, the agreement with that department being that it will recruit farm labor in the rural communities, and when the need arises for using workmen from the towns and cities for farm labor, they will be handled by the Department of Labor; and a woman's division, which, in conjunction with the general administration and clearance, handles the problem of the placement of women in industrial employment.

The Employment Service has 400 organized offices in the United States from which daily reports are received at the

Washington office of the local demand for and supply of labor. These are compiled into weekly reports for the preparation of maps which show at a glance the surplus or shortage of every class of labor in the various localities by which the service can be guided in gathering and transporting needed labor for war activities. It has the active assistance of many civic bodies, not organized for profit, which have interested themselves in the matter. It is in cooperation with the War, Navy, and Agricultural Departments, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, the Railroad Administration, and the Civil Service Commission.

The women and girls' division not only provides employment for women and girls but investigates thoroughly the character of every one who applies for female help, ascertains how the employees will be trained, how they will live, and how this work will fit them for the greater work of home building, which is every woman's heritage.

And, by protecting these women, the next generation is protected by the Department of Labor. These women and girls are to be the mothers of the Nation that will carry on the work of to-morrow. The ideals which these working girls set up to-day will be the ideals of the men of to-morrow. Thus this service is daily laying the foundation for a greater America every day.

The department is working upon a plan for the development of ways and means to find employment for aged people. How frequently have we heard it said that in modern times when men and women pass a certain defined line they are subjects for "the human scrap pile."

But the Department of Labor, furthermore, has taken upon itself the work of actually creating new places for employment that will bring health, happiness, and prosperity to workers who have not found employment through the regular channels.

The Secretary of Labor made definite recommendations that Government land be utilized in order to provide new places for employment. Congress has this under consideration.

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS.

[Dr. Royal Meeker, Commissioner.]

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics has been gathering and compiling for Federal and State departments and individuals a great deal of material on wage rates and retail prices in communities affected by the expansion of industry, types of collective bargaining, industrial hazards from accident and disease, and the employment of women in men's occupations. The demand for information on labor conditions in the belligerent countries of Europe has been met by the reproduction, in the form of a special group of bulletins and articles, of British, French, and other foreign official reports on hours, fatigue, health, welfare work, the employment of women and juveniles, labor unrest, and other matters concerning conditions of labor in these countries.

Very thorough studies have been made in regard to industrial poisons used or produced in the manufacture of high explosives and reports have been published on dope poisoning in the manufacture of aeroplane wings, also further studies of industrial poisons used in the manufacture of high explosives.

To assist in the restoration work that must be undertaken at the close of this war, special investigation of the land policies pursued by foreign countries and the land available in this country for settlement by men discharged from the military service has been made. A special phase of this restoration work is the rehabilitation, reeducation, and reemployment of men disabled in the service of the country. In the study of these problems the Commissioner of Labor Statistics is cooperating with the Federal Board for Vocational Education and Surgeon General's Office.

At the request of the shipbuilding, an investigation into the cost of living in shipbuilders' families is being conducted in different parts of the country. The results of this investigation are being used in making of awards in the settlement of wage disputes in shipbuilding.

The work of classifying and standardizing occupations in Government service and in industries doing war work is being carried on under the direction of the United States Commissioner of Labor and Statistics for the United States Employment Service, in cooperation with the War Department, the Navy Department, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, the Civil Service Commission, and the Bureau of the Census.

BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION.

[Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General.]

The war activities of this bureau may be summarized as follows:

Supervision of the importation of skilled men for the manufacture of munitions and other war materials, in cooperation with the Canadian Department of Immigration and Colonization, so

far as such importations from Canada are concerned, to prevent harmful interference with such work in both countries.

Strict examination of all aliens entering the United States with a view to the detection of alien enemies endeavoring to pass as friendly neutrals; as immigration officers are expert in handling aliens of all classes, they are peculiarly well fitted to deal with such persons in a skilled way. It is the Department of Labor that stands between us and the undesirable immigrant.

Interchange of information and cooperation with the investigative agencies of the Departments of Justice, War, Navy, and Treasury in dealing with aliens who are amenable to action under the immigration laws. These relationships are highly confidential and can not be more fully described without prejudice to the work being done.

Cooperation (particularly at New York) with the Post Office Department in checking up the foreign-language newspapers. The facilities of the Immigration Service in the way of translators have been placed at the disposal of the postal authorities.

Supervision of the importation of agricultural and other labor for temporary periods, incident to keeping up production on farm products, particularly in the West and Southwest.

Supervision of alien seamen coming ashore for purposes of reshipment.

Deportation of aliens found advocating or teaching anarchy, sabotage, or other methods of destroying life or property.

German and Austrian seamen taken from merchant vessels at the time of the declaration of a state of war with those countries have been interned under the control of this bureau. At the request of the Swiss Legation, through the State Department, they are about to be transferred to the jurisdiction of the War Department. There will still remain under the control of the bureau aliens arrested in the United States under departmental warrant who have been found advocating anarchy, the destruction of life and property, or who are in this country in violation of any other portion of the immigration law and who must be interned until opportunities of deportation occur.

There has also been organized an alien enemy observation division, which keeps in touch with the officials of upwards of 30,000 labor organizations and conveys to the Department of Justice such information as may be gathered relative to enemy activities.

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CHILDREN'S BUREAU.
[Julia C. Lathrop, Chief.]

In April, 1917, the Children's Bureau began a study of materials available in this country about the effect of war conditions upon children in certain European countries. The studies were not concerned with the children immediately within the war zones, but with children in city and country "behind the lines" whose experiences should be of value for the protection of American children in war time. The following reports have been published:

Care of Dependents of Enlisted Men in Canada.

Governmental Provisions in the United States and Foreign Countries for Members of the Military Forces and their Dependents.

Child Labor in Warring Countries.

The following papers based on the bureau's study have been published by members of the staff in technical reviews and have been reprinted for distribution by the bureau:

Infant Welfare Work in War Time.

Illegitimacy in Europe as Affected by the War.

Child Labor in Warring Countries.

The bureau directed the preparation of the report on soldiers' dependents in Canada by Mr. S. Herbert Wolfe, of New York. Capt. (now Maj.) Wolfe was detailed to cooperate with the bureau and supervise the preparation of the bureau's second report, which gives in detail the provisions made in the United States and 12 foreign countries for soldiers' dependents. Throughout the study for the second report the bureau's readers had the cordial cooperation of the War Department, of the Navy Department, of the Pension Bureau, and of the Library of Congress. The material assembled by the Children's Bureau was used by the special committees appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury and by the committee on labor of the Council of National Defense to draft the measure (enacted on Oct. 6, 1917) for the compensation of American soldiers and the care of their families. The chief of the Children's Bureau was a member of these committees.

Special studies of the decreased use of milk in families with small children because of its rising cost have been made in three cities by local agencies, under the supervision of the bureau. In cooperation with the Food Administration and the Department of Agriculture a bulletin on "Milk, the Indispensable Food for Children," has been issued.

A brief war-time program for the protection of children was outlined in the bureau's last annual report.

In January, 1918, the Children's Bureau, in consultation with the child welfare department of the woman's committee of the Council of National Defense, expanded this program and outlined special activities to prevent unnecessary deaths of babies and to protect children from the hazards of war time. The Children's Bureau has published a popular statement of the importance and the purpose of "Children's Year" leaflets in suggestions for the work of the local committees.

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BUREAU OF NATURALIZATION.

[Richard K. Campbell, Commissioner General.]

The war activities of the Bureau of Naturalization consist of administering the law by which all of the soldiers of foreign birth who are not citizens may be naturalized, whether in the United States or in a foreign country under military jurisdiction of the United States. This work is now being carried on, and in all of the cantonments throughout the United States thousands of American soldiers have had citizenship conferred upon them under this activity of this bureau. It is also actively cooperating with the War Department and the military forces, including the local Army exemption boards throughout the United States, in locating aliens declared subject to the Army draft law.

In cooperation with the public schools throughout the United States, it is fostering and developing with increasing force a spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Nation among the entire foreign body in all parts of the country. Through these foreigners who have taken a solemn oath to become citizens of the United States the influence and effect of the Bureau of Naturalization is being felt throughout the entire foreign body. While the bureau does not induce foreigners to take the oath of citizenship or to take any step in that direction, it does direct its energies to arousing in the minds and souls of the foreign residents a sense of their loyalty and obligation to this country. This force which the Bureau of Naturalization has created in this one-third of the population of the Nation has already reacted and is shown in the large number of reports of loyal aliens to the Bureau of Naturalization through its naturalization examiners in the field, both directly and indirectly, of alien-enemy activity. The bureau has been authorized by Congress to place in the hands of each candidate for citizenship who attends the citizenship classes which the public schools all over the United States are forming at the instance of this bureau a standard course in citizenship instruction. This book is to be presented without cost and will be as soon as it is delivered from the Government Printing Office.

The only bureaus of the Federal Government with which this bureau is coordinating its work at the present time are the bureaus of the War Department having charge of the work referred to and the Council of National Defense.

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INFORMATION AND EDUCATION SERVICE.

[Roger W. Babson, Director General.]

War needs demand expansion to include sectional divisions of publicity, information, industrial plants, and labor reports.

The important aim of all these divisions is the development of sound public sentiment among both employers and wage earners concerning the real issues of the war. The publicity section, which already cooperates with the Committee on Public Information, includes all newspaper, magazine, and educational work of any kind, bringing before the public material that will be of practical value in improving conditions from every angle to give more efficient war production.

An inquiry office is already acting as a medium between industrial information and the public, who need help to work intelligently, but are not acquainted with the source. At present a force of 12 to 15 speakers is continuously on the road all over the country telling the story of the issues of the war and the service this and other divisions offer for the public's use in furthering war production. This is done before existing organizations or by general public meetings.

To the industrial-plants section belongs the responsibility of helping the labor situation by offering advanced employment-management methods; issuing posters for factory distribution; stimulating interest in Government work among employees; and starting a competitive campaign to reduce turnover.

Daily labor reports from the 400 United States Employment Service offices are handled by the other section. These are condensed into weekly summaries showing labor shortage and surplus in different industries. The compilations are used not only by the Department of Labor but by all Government departments

functioning on labor to secure and distribute labor according to the supply and demand.

BUREAU OF INDUSTRIAL HOUSING AND TRANSPORTATION.

[Otto M. Eldhitz, Director General.]

The function of this Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation is to arrange for housing labor employed on Army and Navy contracts by—

1. Discovering vacant dwellings and rooms.
2. Organizing and maintaining room registries.
3. Opening up the suburbs through improved transportation facilities.
4. Commandeering available living quarters not otherwise in use.
5. Construction of new, temporary, or permanent dwellings, and by building communities of houses where large operations are needed.

The bureau cooperates in its activities with other Government departments or bureaus as follows:

1. War Department, Ordnance Department, and Quartermaster and Signal Corps, by investigating housing needs in the vicinity of arsenals and industrial establishments producing for the above departments and bureaus and by recommending and carrying out relief for the needs which its investigations reveal.
2. Navy Department, Bureau of Yards and Docks, and the Bureau of Ordnance by making investigations and plans for the relief of housing needs in the vicinity of navy yards, proving grounds, and war industries filling Navy contracts.
3. Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation. Some of the projects of the bureau are in cities in which the Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation have projects. Under these circumstances there is an interchange of reports of investigators and a joint agreement as to the selection of sites and making allotments.

WAR LABOR POLICIES BOARD.

[Felix Frankfurter, Chairman.]

The War Labor Policies Board is under the direction of Felix Frankfurter, assistant to the Secretary. This service is endeavoring to coordinate the war-labor policies of the different departments and boards of the Government, from which may be formulated a common Government war-labor policy. The War Labor Policies Board as organized is composed of representatives of the War, Navy, and Agricultural Departments; the Fleet Corporation; the Railroad, Food, and Fuel Administrations; the War Industries Board, and the chief of each of the bureaus and administrative divisions of the Department of Labor.

Through a series of committees representing the various interested departments of the Government, the board is now considering the ways and means for centralizing labor recruiting through the United States Employment Service, the standardization of wages of skilled and unskilled labor, the centralization of data in regard to industrial relations, and the standardization in Government contracts of clauses pertaining to industrial relations. These and other matters are being considered with a view to reaching in a just, deliberate manner conditions making for stability and the largest productivity of the labor of the country.

Through this service the question of rent profiteering in industrial centers has been taken up. An experiment at New London, Conn., a method of regulating rentals through a large committee divided into a subcommittee of three—one professional, one business, and one working man—which will pass upon any complaints of rent profiteering, has been given publicity by the board. The hope is that the public sentiment created by any violations of the award of such committees will have a restraining influence upon rent profiteering. The plan was suggested by Mr. Richard Washburn Child, who was sent in here by the department to look into complaints that had been made about excessive profiteering.

NEW DIVISIONS.

CONDITIONS OF LABOR SERVICE.

[Grant Hamilton, Director.]

The purpose of this service is to examine into the matter of working conditions in the war industries, to determine the standards as to conditions which should be maintained in the war industries, to adopt rules embodying such standards and explaining them, to determine the best means for securing the adoption and maintenance of such standards, and to cooperate with State authorities for the above purposes.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY SERVICE.

[Mary Van Kleeck, Director.]

The purpose of this service is to consider all general policies with respect to women in industry and to advise the Secretary of Labor as to the policies which should be pursued; to keep informed of the work of the several divisions of the department in so far as they relate to women in industry and to advise with the divisions on all such work; to secure information on all matters relating to women in industry and to collate such information into useful form; to establish connections with all governmental departments and divisions on this subject and with voluntary agencies and societies.

TRAINING AND DILUTION SERVICE.

[Charles T. Clayton, Director.]

The purpose of this service is to ascertain the best methods used in various plants and industrial establishments for training workers to do specific work; to ascertain the needs for such training of workers; to provide information on this subject to the various plants, industrial establishment, and employees, and to promote such training wherever it is necessary or desirable; to inspect the operation of such training and to report thereon, and to cooperate with the United States Employment Service in all of this work.

For the foregoing statements as to the activities of the new "services" of the Department of Labor I am indebted to the "Committee on Public Information." My object in calling them to the attention of the House and the country at this time is to emphasize the fact that here within the jurisdiction of the youngest department of Government is found machinery created by law and directed by an able and conscientious official—Secretary Wilson—which has proved its efficaciousness in coping with the tremendous industrial problems of war and which will also prove of inestimable value in the reconstruction period which must follow the proclamation of peace—when our people take up their former pursuits and our victorious armies return from the battle fields of Europe.

Could an administration do more toward caring for the great army of toilers in the greatest industrial nation on the globe?

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for five minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] asks unanimous consent to address the House for not exceeding five minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will my colleague state the subject?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes; on the war.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. On the pending peace proposition?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, the situation is so tense and fraught with such possibilities—

Mr. MADDEN. I am not going to say anything that will make it any more tense, I think.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. In view of the situation, I do not like to object. I should prefer the gentleman not to make the request.

Mr. MADDEN. I can not withdraw the request.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Then I shall have to object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois objects.

Mr. MADDEN. All right.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE RESERVE CORPS (H. REPT. 829).

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I present a privileged resolution from the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 440.

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of Senate joint resolution 63, entitled "Joint resolution to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service"; that there shall be not to exceed one hour of general debate. At the conclusion of such general debate the resolution shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. After the resolution shall have been perfected in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union the same shall be reported to the House with such recommendation as the committee may make, whereupon the previous question shall be considered as ordered upon the resolution and all amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois has 20 minutes and the gentleman from Kansas has 20 minutes.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, the resolution which has just been read at the Clerk's desk provides for the consideration of Senate joint resolution No. 63—

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] makes the point of order there is no quorum present. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Ninety-one gentlemen are present, not a quorum.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House. The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify the absentees, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The roll was called, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Almon	Ellsworth	Kearns	Roberts
Anthony	Elston	Kelley, Mich.	Robinson
Ashbrook	Emerson	Kennedy, R. I.	Rowe
Austin	Estopinal	Kettner	Rowland
Ayres	Fairchild, G. W.	Key, Ohio	Russell
Bacharach	Fairfield	King	Sabath
Baer	Farr	Kreider	Sanders, Ind.
Bell	Fess	La Follette	Sanders, La.
Bland, Ind.	Fisher	La Guardia	Sanders, N. Y.
Borland	Flood	Langley	Sanford
Bowers	Flynn	Lea, Cal.	Saunders, Va.
Britten	Focht	Lee, Ga.	Schall
Broubeck	Fordney	Leshner	Scott, Iowa
Browning	Foss	London	Scott, Pa.
Burnett	Francis	Loneragan	Scully
Burroughs	Freeman	Longworth	Sells
Butler	French	Luffin	Shackleford
Byrnes, S. C.	Fuller, Ill.	Lundeen	Shallenberger
Caldwell	Fuller, Mass.	Lunn	Sherwood
Candler, Miss.	Gallivan	McAndrews	Shouse
Cannon	Garner	McClintic	Sims
Carew	Gillett	McCormick	Slemp
Charter, Mass.	Glass	McCulloch	Smith, C. B.
Chandler, N. Y.	Glynn	McFadden	Smith, T. F.
Chandler, Okla.	Godwin, N. C.	McKinley	Snyder
Church	Good	McLaughlin, Mich.	Stedman
Clark, Pa.	Goodall	McLaughlin, Pa.	Steele
Classon	Gould	Maher	Steenson
Claypool	Graham, Ill.	Mann	Stephens, Miss.
Clery	Graham, Pa.	Martin	Stephens, Nebr.
Collier	Gray, N. J.	Mason	Sterling, Ill.
Connally, Tex.	Greene, Mass.	Meeker	Stiness
Cooper, Ohio	Gregg	Merritt	Strong
Cooper, W. Va.	Griest	Miller, Minn.	Sullivan
Cooper, Wis.	Griffin	Montague	Switzer
Copley	Hamill	Moore, Pa.	Tagne
Costello	Hamilton, Mich.	Moore, Ind.	Taylor, Colo.
Crago	Hamilton, N. Y.	Mudd	Templeton
Cramton	Hardy	Neely	Thomas
Crisp	Harrison, Miss.	Nelson	Thompson
Currie, Mich.	Haskell	Nicholls, S. C.	Tillman
Curry, Cal.	Hayden	Nichols, Mich.	Tilson
Dale, N. Y.	Hayes	Nolan	Tinkham
Dallinger	Heaton	Oliver, Ala.	Treadway
Davis	Heintz	Oliver, N. Y.	Van Dyke
Decker	Helvering	Olney	Venable
Delaney	Hensley	O'Shaunessy	Vestal
Dempsey	Hicks	Overmyer	Walker
Dewalt	Hollingsworth	Paige	Walton
Dickinson	Hood	Parker, N. Y.	Ward
Dies	Houston	Peters	Wasen
Dill	Howard	Phelan	Weaver
Dillon	Huddleston	Platt	Webb
Dixon	Hull, Iowa	Porter	Welling
Donovan	Hull, Tenn.	Powers	Whaley
Doolling	Humphreys	Price	Wheeler
Doollittle	Husted	Purnell	White, Ohio
Doughton	Hutchinson	Ragsdale	Williams
Drane	Ireland	Rainey, J. W.	Wilson, Ill.
Drukker	James	Rankin	Winslow
Dyer	Johnson, S. Dak.	Reavis	Woodward
Edmonds	Johnson, Wash.	Reed	Zihlman
Elliott	Juel	Riordan	

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, it is evident that there is not going to be a quorum present. I do not want to stop the consideration of this bill, so I will withdraw the point of no quorum.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can not do that. One hundred and seventy-eight Members have answered to their names, not a quorum.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 41 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, October 15, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Secretary of the

Interior submitting additional estimates of appropriation required by the Reclamation Service for the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1325); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Secretary of the Navy submitting supplemental estimates of appropriation required by the Navy Department for the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1326); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Acting Secretary of War submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation required by the Ordnance Department of the Army for armament of fortifications for the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1327); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

4. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation required by the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance for the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1328); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 13072) to incorporate the War Mothers of America, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 827), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. FERRIS, from the Committee on the Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (S. 4886) providing for the sale of certain lands in the original town site of Port Angeles, Wash., reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 828), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DENTON: A bill (H. R. 13072) to incorporate the War Mothers of America; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. GARD: A bill (H. R. 13073) to amend an act entitled "An act relating to the liability of common carriers by railroads to their employees in certain cases," approved April 22, 1908, and amended April 5, 1910; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LITTLE: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 336) expressing the views of the Congress of the United States on justice to the Armenian people; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. VAN DYKE: A bill (H. R. 13074) granting a pension to Patrick H. Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13075) granting an increase of pension to W. J. Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WELTY: A bill (H. R. 13076) granting a pension to Presley F. Black; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. McARTHUR: Petition from the Oregon Pure Bred Live Stock Association, pledging the support of the association to the President of the United States during the war, and asking Congress to enact such laws as shall forever banish from our shores all persons who shall in any way be inimical to our great country; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SCULLY: Petition of Perth Amboy Council of Defense, protesting against reconstruction of the T. A. Gillespie plant at Morgan, N. J.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CLASSON: Petition of Mosquito Hill Local Union, No. 6847, A. S. of E., on the subject of taxation of war profits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.